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OF

HUMAN SUPERSTITION;

Being a Paraphrase and Commentary on the *HISTORIA FLAGELLANTIUM* of the Abbé Boileau, Doctor of the Sorbonne, Canon of the Holy Chapel, &c.

By One who is not Doctor of the Sorbonne.

Honni soit qui mal y pense.

THE SECOND EDITION.

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THE

INTRODUCTION

OF THE

PARAPHRAST AND COMMENTATOR.

THE Abbé Boileau, the author of the *Hiſtoria Flagellantium*, was elder brother to the celebrated Poet of that name. He filled, ſeveral years, the place of Dean of the Metropolitan Church of Sens, and was thence promoted to the office of one of the Canons of the Holy Chapel in Paris, which is looked upon as a great dignity among the French clergy.

While he was in that office (about the year 1700) he wrote, among other books, that which is the ſubject of this work *. This

* The title of the book is *Hiſtoria Flagellantium, de recto & perverſo flagrorum uſu apud Chriſtianos*, 12mo. Pariſiis, apud J. Aniſſon, Typographiæ Regiæ Præfectum, MDCC.

book, in which the public expected, from the title of it, to find an hiſtory of the particular ſect of Hereticks called Flagellants, only contained an aggregation of facts and quotations on the ſubject of ſelf-diſciplines and flagellations in general among Chriſtians (which, if the work had been well done, might however have been equally intereſting) and a mixture of alternate commendation and blame of that practice.

The Theologians of that time, however, took offence at the book. They judged that the author had been guilty, in it, of ſeveral heretical aſſertions; for inſtance, in ſaying, as he does in two or three places, that Jeſus Chriſt had ſuffered flagellation againſt his will: and they particularly blamed the cenſures which, amidſt his commendations of it, he had paſſed upon a practice that ſo many ſaints had adopted, ſo many pontiffs and biſhops had adviſed, and ſo many eccleſiaſtical writers had commended.

In the ſecond place, they objected to ſeveral facts which the author had inſerted in his book, as well as to the licentiouſneſs of expreſſion he had ſometimes indulged; and

they ſaid that ſuch facts, and ſuch manner of expreſſion, ought not to be met with in a book written by a good Chriſtian, and much leſs by a Dean of the Metropolitan Church of Sens, a Canon of the Holy Chapel, and in ſhort by a man inveſted with an eminent dignity in the Church; in which latter reſpect they were perhaps right *.

Among the critics of our author's book, were the Jeſuits of Trevoux; the then conductors of a periodical review, called the *Journal de Trevoux*. The poet Boileau, taking the part of his brother, anſwered their criticiſms by the following epigram.

Non, le livre des Flagellans
N'a jamais condamné, liſez le bien mes Peres,
Ces rigidités ſalutaires
Que pour ravir le Ciel, ſaintement violens,
Exercent ſur leurs corps tant de Chrétiens auſtères.

* Our author, who was rather ſingular in the choice of his ſubjects, had written another treatiſe *De tactibus impudicis prohibendis*, and another on the dreſs of clergymen, wherein he attempted to prove that they might as well wear it ſhort as long.

Il blâme ſeulement cet abus odieux
D'étaler & d'offrir aux yeux
Ce que leur doit toûjours cacher la beinſéance,
Et combat vivement la fauſſe piété,
Qui, ſous couleur d'éteindre en nous la volupté,
Par l'auſtérité même & par la pénitence
Sait allumer le feu de la lubricité.

The firſt opportunity I had to ſee the Abbé Boileau's book, which is pretty ſcarce, but which I knew from the above epigram, and other books that mention it, was about ten years ago, in a town of Italy, where it was ſhewn to me by a Quaker, an Engliſhman, who lived there; not a Quaker, however, of the common ſort, that is, a ſcrupulous obſerver of the duties preſcribed by his ſect; for he wore laced cloaths, and played admirably well on the flute.

Having ſince lighted again on a copy of the ſame book, I judged that its ſingularity, and the nature of the facts it contains, rendered it worthy to be laid before the public; and I had the thought of dreſſing it in vulgar tongue with the leſs reluctance, as, conformably to the confeſſion I have made in the title-page, I hvae not the honour to be a doctor of

of the Sorbonne. However, I found, upon a more attentive examination of the book, that the obſcurity and want of meaning of that part of it which properly belongs to the author, who ſeems to have been as defective in point of clearneſs of head as his brother the poet was remarkable for that qualification, rendered a tranſlation impracticable.

The ſingular contradiction, for inſtance, between moſt of the concluſions our author draws from the facts he relates, and the facts themſelves, is (when it is poſſible to aſcertain the meaning of ſuch concluſions) really matter of ſurpriſe. The critics of our author, who were ſenſible of this inconſiſtency, had derived comfort from it, and hoped that the book would propagate but little hereſy, ſince hardly any body could underſtand it. However, this very manner in which our author has compoſed his work, wherein he contradicts not only the facts he relates, but even his own aſſertions, ſometimes two or three times in the ſame page, leads us to the diſcovery of his real deſign in writing it, and clears him from having entertained any views of an heretical or dangerous nature. He only propoſed, it appears, to compile together facts

and quotations which amuſed him, and which he thought would alſo amuſe the public; and he terminated them (or ſometimes whole ſtrings of them) with ſeeming concluſions and random aſſertions, in order to make the reader judge that he had a ſerious and even theological deſign, in making his compilation.

Another cauſe of ſurpriſe in our Author's book, is, the prodigious incoherency of the facts themſelves he has linked together. But in this reſpect, likewiſe, we diſcover, after a little examination, that his views were of a perfectly harmleſs kind, and that this ſingularity was not owing to any deſign of his own, as might at firſt ſight be imagined, but only to the manner in which he proceeded in his work. His practice was, it appears, to lay down, at the ſame time, upon the paper, all the facts to his liking he found related in the productions of the ſame author; and at other times alſo, he introduced together, we may ſuppoſe, all the ſtories and quotations the diſcovery of which he had made in the courſe of the ſame morning *.

A tranſ-

* The ſame manner of writing is alſo to be met.

A tranſlation of a book thus made, was therefore, as hath been above ſaid, impracticable. And as a number of the facts and quotations it contains are curious, either in themſelves, or on account of the authors from whom they are extracted, I have at once enlarged my firſt plan, and thought of writing another book with the materials contained in that of the Abbé Boileau.

With the facts and quotations, therefore, ſupplied by the Abbé Boileau's book, I have undertaken to compoſe this Hiſtory of the Flagellants. With theſe materials, the quantity or number of which I determined neither to increaſe or decreaſe, I attempted to write a book; propoſing to myſelf a taſk of much the ſame nature with that kind of play which ſometimes ſerves to amuſe companies of friends in winter evenings, in which ſets of words in appearance incompatible with one another,

met with in moſt of the treatiſes that were written in England, France, and eſpecially Germany, about an hundred years ago, or more, when a mechanical knowledge of Latin and Greek books, and making compilations from them, was the kind of learning in vogue.

are propoſed, and, without any of them being left out, or even diſplaced, are to be made into ſome conſiſtent ſpeeches, by the help of intermediate arguments. Such taſk I have, as I ſay, tried to perform, without ſetting aſide any of the facts contained in the Abbé Boileau's book: only I have taken great liberty with reſpect to placing and diſplacing ſuch facts, as, without that indulgence, the taſk, on this occaſion, was not to be performed. The work or problem, therefore, I propoſed to myſelf, inſtead of being that which more commonly occurs, and may be expreſſed in the following terms: *Certain arguments being given, to find the neceſſary facts to ſupport them?* was this: *A certain number of facts, pretty well authenticated, being given, to find the natural concluſions and inductions which they ſuggeſt?*

To this paraphraſe thus made on the materials afforded by the Abbé Boileau, and to a few occaſional ſentences of his, which I have preſerved, I have added an ample Commentary, in which I have introduced not only ſuch facts as either my own memory, or other authors, ſupplied me: ſo that the Abbé's

work, a twelves book, printed on a very large type, has ſwelled into the majeſtic octavo which is now laid before the public.

In compoſing this octavo, two different parts I have performed. In the Paraphraſe on the Abbé Boileau's work, I have, keeping to the ſubject, and preſerving as much as I could the turn of my Author's book, expreſſed myſelf in that ſtyle and manner, in which it was not unlikely a doctor of the Sarbonne, and a dean of the church of Sens, might have written: in the Commentary, I have followed my own inclination. Conformably to that which is often practiſed on the Stage, where the ſame player fills two different parts at the ſame time, by ſpeedily altering his dreſs, I have, in the preſent work, acted in two different alternate capacities, as I changed ſides: in the text, I acted the part of a doctor of the Sorbonne; and then, quickly reſuming my former ſtation, I expatiated and commented, in the note, upon what the doctor had juſt ſaid in the text.

Thus much for the manner in which I have accompliſhed this work. With reſpect to giving any previous delineation of the ſubſtance

ſtance of it, it is what I find ſome difficulty in doing; and which, beſides, I think would be uſeleſs, ſince I ſuppoſe the reader will, as readers commonly do, peruſe this Preface only after he has turned the laſt leaf of the book: taking it therefore for granted that the reader knows, by this time, what the preſent performance is, I proceed to give an account of my views in writing it.

In the firſt place, I propoſed to myſelf the information of poſterity. A period will, ſooner or later, arrive, at which the diſciplining and flagellating practices now in uſe, and which have been ſo for ſo many centuries, will have been laid aſide, and ſucceeded by others equally whimſical. And while the men of thoſe days will overlook the defects of their own extravagant cuſtoms, or perhaps even admire the rationality of them, they will refuſe to believe that the practices of which accounts are given in this work, ever were in uſe among mankind, and even matter of great moment among them. My deſign, therefore, was effectually to remove all their doubts in that reſpect, by handing down to them the flower

and

and choice part of the facts and arguments on the ſubject.

This book will likewiſe be extremely uſeful to the preſent age; and it will in the firſt place be ſo, the ſubject being conſidered in a moral light. The numerous caſes that are produced in this book, of diſciplines which offenders of all claſſes, kings as well as others, have zealouſly inflicted upon themſelves, will ſupply a ſtriking proof of that deep ſenſe of juſtice which exiſts in the breaſts of all men; and the reader will from ſuch facts conclude, no doubt with pleaſure, that even the offenders of the high rank we have juſt mentioned, notwithſtanding the ſtate by which they are ſurrounded, and the majeſtic countenance which they put on, ſometimes in proportion as they more clearly know that they are wrong, are inwardly convinced that they owe compenſation for their acts of injuſtice.

Being conſidered in the ſame moral light, this book will be uſeful to the preſent age, by the inſtances it gives of corrections by which different offences againſt the peace of mankind have been requited; the conſequence of which will be the preventing of ſuch offences. Slanderous wits, for example, to mention only

offenders

offenders of that claſs, writers of ſatires, epigrams, and lampoons, dealers in bon-mots, inventors of anecdotes, by reading the inſtances of diſciplines by which ſuch ingenious paſtimes have, on different occaſions, been repaid, will naturally be led to recollect, that all poſſible flagellations (to uſe the expreſſion of the Alguazil introduced in a certain chapter of Gil Blas) have not been yet inflicted; and ſudden conſiderations like this, which this book will not fail to ſuggeſt to them, will be extremely apt to check them the inſtant they are preparing to make their excurſions on the reputation of their neighbours; and by that means the good name of many an innocent perſon will be preſerved.

To the perſons themſelves who actually ſuffer from the injuſtice or wantonneſs of others, this performance will be of great ſervice. Thoſe, for inſtance, who ſmart under the laſh of ſome inſolent ſatiriſt, thoſe who are diſappointed in their expectations, thoſe whoſe ſecrets have been betrayed, nay, even ladies, treacherouſly forſaken by thoſe who had given them ſo many aſſurances of fidelity and eternal conſtancy, will find their misfortunes alle-

viated.

viated by reading the different inſtances and facts related in this book: they will take comfort from the thought, that what has already happened may happen again; and cheer themſelves with the hope, that flagellations will ſooner or later be the lot of thoſe perſons who cauſe their uneaſineſs.

Being conſidered in a philoſophical light, this work will be uſeful to the preſent age, in the ſame manner as we have ſaid it would be to poſterity. The preſent generation, at leaſt in this iſland, will find in it proofs both of the reality of the ſingular practices which once prevailed in their own country, and are ſtill in full force in many others, and of the important light in which they have been conſidered by mankind. They will meet with accounts of biſhops, cardinals, popes, and princes, who have warmly commended or blamed ſuch practices; and will not be diſpleaſed to be moreover acquainted with the debates of the learned on the ſame ſubject, and with the honeſt, though oppoſite, endeavours, of a Cerebroſus and a Damian, a Gretzer and a Gerſon.

To the critical reader this book will likewiſe be ſerviceable, by giving him an inſight into the

the manner of the debates and arguments, and into the turn of the erudition, of foreign Catholick divines, at the ſame time that the information will be conveyed to him amidſt other objects that will perhaps better amuſe him: to ſecure this advantage, I have, as much as I could, preſerved the appearance of our Author's book, uſing, for that purpoſe, the titles of ſeveral of his chapters; only taking care to keep more to the ſubject than himſelf had done.

To the ſame critical reader this performance will alſo recommend itſelf, by the numerous paſſages from certain books which it gives him an opportunity to peruſe. And the generality of readers will not be diſpleaſed to meet with a number of ſhort ſpecimens of the ſtyle of ſeveral authors whoſe works they never would have read, though they were once conſpicuous on the particular line which they followed, and to be thus brought to ſome ſlight acquaintance with St. Auſtin, St. Jerom, and Tertullian, of whom they knew only the names, and with St. Fulgentius, and Peter Chryſologus, of whom they knew nothing at all.

In

In fine, to theſe capital advantages, poſſeſſed by this work, I have endeavoured to add the important one of affording entertainment; for, entertainment is a thing which is not by any means to be deſpiſed in this world. In order the better to attain this end, I have avoided offending againſt decency or religion; I had of myſelf too little inclination to be witty at the expence of either, eſpecially the latter, to avail myſelf of the opportunities which the ſubject naturally offered; and I ſhould think it a great praiſe of this book, if I were hereafter informed, that the graver claſs of readers have read with pleaſure the leſs ſerious part of it, and that the other claſs have gone with pleaſure likewiſe through that part which is leſs calculated for amuſement.

THE

Page 251.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

FLAGELLANTS.

CHAP. I.

The ſubſtance of the reaſons given by the Abbé Boileau, for writing his Book. He ſeems to have been of opinion that voluntary flagellations were no very antient practice.

I AM not, I confeſs, without fear that the deſign I have formed of tracing the origin

of thoſe Flagellations which have in proceſs of time been introduced among Chriſtians, will be looked upon as a raſh undertaking, and that I may be accuſed of having, in that reſpect, fallen into the errors of the Proteſtants, whether Lutherans, or Calviniſts.

In fact, thoſe two Sects, under pretence of ſhewing their obedience to the commands of God, who orders the Iſraelites *not to make inciſions in their own fleſh for the ſake of the dead*, trample upon all laws concerning Penitence, extinguiſh that kind of virtue which conſiſts in repreſſing the luſtful appetites of the fleſh, and ridicule thoſe mortifications and penances to which Tertullian adviſes us to ſubmit.

Indeed, I am far from wiſhing to favour the relaxed Doctrine of Heretics. That kind of enthuſiaſtic fury which the Calviniſts manifeſteſt, in the laſt Century, againſt the laborious exerciſes of the Monaſtic life, rather heightens, in my opinion, the glory of the Catholic Church. I think that the manner of the antient Anchorites of Syria, of Thebaid, and of Egypt, the purity of their virtue, and the ſurpriſing penances to which they ſubmitted, deſerve our utmoſt reverence, however impoſſible it may be for us to imitate them.

I have no other object in view, on this occaſion, than to bring back thoſe happy times of the primitive Church, in which the true Science of conquering luſtful appetites flouriſhed among our holy Forefathers. All I propoſe to myſelf, is, to render it manifeſt to every candid Reader, that thoſe methods of doing Penance, which are in our days called *Diſciplines* *, were unknown in the happy

* The word *Diſcipline* originally ſignified in general, the cenſures and corrections which perſons who were guilty of Sins, received from their Superiors; and when *Flagellation* was to be part of thoſe corrections, it was expreſsly mentioned; and they called ſuch Diſcipline, as the Reader will ſee in the Sequel of this Book, "the diſcipline of the whip," *(diſciplina flagelli)*. As Flagellation grew afterwards to be the common method of doing penance that prevailed among perſons in religious Orders, the bare word *diſcipline* became in courſe of time the technical word to expreſs that kind of chaſtiſement: thus, the Reader will find hereafter an inſtance in which Flagellation, when too long continued, is called "the madneſs of too long diſcipline," *(longioris diſciplinæ inſania)*. And at laſt, thoſe kinds of whips made of knotted and twiſted cords, commonly uſed for the above

happy periods of the primitive Church. By Diſciplines I mean here to ſpeak of thoſe voluntary Flagellations which Penitents inflict upon themſelves with their own hands; laſhing their own backs, or poſteriors, either with ſcourges or whips, or willow and birch rods. A practice this, which, we are not to doubt, prevails much in the Societies of modern Monks and Nuns, eſpecially among thoſe who, under pretence of reformation, have aboliſhed their antient Rules, and ſubſtituted new Conſtitutions in their ſtead.

But before I enter upon this ſubject, I muſt inform the Reader of two facts, which it is neceſſary he ſhould know, at the ſame time that they are undeniable, and confirmed by every

pious exerciſes, have alſo been called by the ſame name; and the word *diſcipline* has become in French, for inſtance, the appropriated word to expreſs the inſtrument of religious flagellation. Thus, in Moliere's Play, called the *Tartuffe*, or the Hypocrite, Tartuffe tells his Man, "Laurent, "lock up my hair-cloth, and diſcipline, and pray "that Heaven may always illuminate you."

Laurent, ſerrez ma haire avec ma diſcipline,
Et priez que toujours le Ciel vous illumine.
TART. A. III. Sc. 2.

every day's practice. The firſt is, that Penitents, as we have above-mentioned, both inflict thoſe Diſciplines on themſelves with their own hands, and receive the ſame from other perſons, either with ſcourges, or rods, or whip-cords. The ſecond is, that thoſe chaſtiſements are inflicted on them, either on the bare back or ſhoulders, or on the poſteriors: the former method is uſually called the *upper*, and the latter, the *lower* diſcipline *.

Now,

* *Sursùm & deorsùm diſciplina.*——All the Women (as the Writer of this Commentary has been told, when in Catholic Countries) who make ſelf-flagellation part of their religious exerciſes, whether they live in or out of Convents, uſe the *lower diſcipline*, as defined above: their pious and merciful Confeſſors having ſuggeſted to them, that the *upper diſcipline* may prove dangerous, and be the cauſe of hurting their breaſts, eſpecially when they mean to proceed in that holy exerciſe with unuſual fervour and ſeverity. A few Orders of Friars, among whom are the Capuchins, alſo uſe the lower kind of diſcipline; but for what reaſon the Commentator has not been as yet informed.

Perhaps it will be aſked here, how Prieſts and Confeſſors have been able to introduce the uſe of ſuch a painful practice as flagellation, among the

Now, that this latter kind of Diſcipline is a contrivance of modern times, is what I poſitively

perſons who chooſe to be directed by them in religious matters, and how they can enforce obedience to the preſcriptions they give them in that reſpect. But here it muſt be remembered, that *Penance* has been made a Sacrament among Catholics, and that *Satisfaction*, as may be ſeen in the Books that treat of that ſubject, is an eſſential part of it, and muſt always precede the *Abſolution* on the part of the Confeſſor. Now, as Confeſſors have it in their power to refuſe this Abſolution, ſo long as the Penances or Satisfactions of any kind, which they have enjoyed to their Penitents, have not been accompliſhed, this confers on them a very great authority; and though, to a number of thoſe who apply to them, who care but little for ſuch Abſolution, or in caſe of refuſal are ready to apply to other more eaſy Confeſſors, they ſcarcely preſcribe any other kind of *Satisfaction* than ſaying a certain number of prayers, or ſuch like mortification; yet, to thoſe perſons who think it a very ſerious affair when a Confeſſor in whom they truſt, continues to refuſe them his abſolution, they may enjoin almoſt what kind of penance they pleaſe. And indeed ſince Confeſſors have been able to prevail upon Kings to leave their kingdoms and

tively aver. It was unknown, as I ſhall demonſtrate to the Reader, among the firſt Chriſtians; and it is moreover repugnant both to true Piety, and to Modeſty, for ſeveral reaſons which I ſhall deduce hereafter. I propoſe, beſides, to ſhew that this practice is an offspring of Idolatry and Superſtition; that it ought to be baniſhed from among Chriſtians as an erroneous and dangerous exerciſe; and that it has only been introduced into the Chriſtian Church by ignorant perſons, under the ſpecious appearance of Piety and more perfect Mortification.

Painters, it ſeems, have not a little helped to eſtabliſh and ſtrengthen the practices we mention, by their pictures, of which Pope Gregory the Great ſays, in his Epiſtle to Serenus Biſhop of Marſeilles, that they were "the Libraries of ignorant Chriſtians." In

 fact,

and engage in perilous wars and croiſades to the Holy Land, and to induce young and tender Queens to perform on foot pilgrimages to very diſtant places, it is not difficult to underſtand how they have been able gradually to prevail upon numbers of their Devotees of both Sexes, to follow practices which they had been ſo fooliſh as to adopt for themſelves, and to practiſe, at their own choice, either the lower, or the upper, diſcipline.

fact, we see they have never represented any of the antient Anchorites, without leaving some spare corner on their canvas, whereupon to place either whips or rods; instruments of which those holy Hermits had not probably made the least use during their lives, and about which they perhaps had never so much as entertained a thought.

A number of able Writers in the last century have, it must be confessed, also contributed to bring into credit the practice we mention. Considering voluntary flagellations in the same light as they did all methods in general of mortifying the flesh, they commended them, and procured them to be admitted. My design here is not by any means to question the good intentions of so respectable persons, who held the first rank among the Society of the Fathers Jesuits, and were looked upon, if I may so express myself, like so many Heroes in the Republic of Letters: but yet, on the other hand, I cannot be persuaded that it is unlawful to animadvert upon the ignorance and impudence of Painters, of which Lucian says that they were "as licentious as the Poets *;" and to endeavour, if possible, to

* Dial. Ὑπὲρ τῶν Εἰκόνων—Καὶ τοὶ παλαιὸς ἔτος ὁ λόγος, ἀνευθύνους

to obtain from the Prelates of the Church, that, ſince pictures are the books of ignorant Chriſtians,

ἀνευθύνους εἶναι Ποιητὰς καὶ Γραφέας. The Greek word ἀνευθύνους, uſed here, literally ſignifies that Poets and Painters are not obliged to give any account of their actions. Horace has alſo expreſſed a thought of the ſame kind with regard to them, in his *Ars Poëtica*, "Painters and Poets have always equally enjoyed the power of daring every thing."

Pictoribus atque Poëtis
Quidlibet audendi ſemper fuit æqua poteſtas.
A. P. v. 9, 10.

The complaints of our Author with reſpect to the looſe which Painters have been uſed to give to their own fancy, when they have treated religious ſubjects, are well grounded; and perſons who have travelled in Catholic Countries cannot but have taken notice of the freedom that prevails in their Church-pictures: hence a number of ſtories are related among them of Nuns, or other Women, who have fallen in love with naked figures of Angels and Saints, and of Men who have been led into extravagances by the paſſion they had conceived for certain ſtatues, or pictures. As to errors concerning facts merely, and faults againſt the *Coſtume*, which our Author ſeems more parti-

Chriſtians, no Fables and lies be repreſented in them; and that ſuch as contain notorious falſehoods be baniſhed from thoſe Churches and Chapels in which Jeſus Chriſt, who was truth itſelf, is daily adored. At leaſt this will be admitted, that truth has no need of the aſſiſtance of falſehood to protect it: ſupported by its own ſtrength, it ſets at defiance the attacks of both Folly and Sophiſtry.

cularly to allude to, in this Chapter, they are certainly very frequent in the works of Painters: even the firſt among them, ſuch as Paul Veroneſe and others, are reproached with capital ones. On this occaſion the Writer of this Commentary thinks he may relate what he himſelf has ſeen in a Country Church in Germany, in which a Painter, who had intended to repreſent the Sacrifice of Iſaac, had ſo far availed himſelf of the *poteſtas quidlibet audendi*, mentioned above, that he had repreſented Abraham with a blunderbuſs in his hand, ready to ſhoot his ſon, and an Angel, ſuddenly come down from Heaven, pouring water on the pan.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

No perſons, under the antient Law, inflicted on themſelves, with their own hands, voluntary flagellations, or received them from the hands of other perſons.

FLAGELLATION, there is no doubt, is a method of coercive puniſhment very antiently uſed among Men. We find it mentioned in the Old Teſtament, in the fifth chapter of *Exodus:* it is ſaid in that chapter, that the Miniſters of Pharaoh, who required from the Iſraelites a certain number of bricks every day, having found them to have failed in ſupplying the uſual number, ordered them to be flogged; and that the latter complained of this harſh uſage.

V. 14. "And the officers of the children "of Iſrael, which Pharaoh's Taſk-maſters had "ſet over them, were beaten *, and de-"manded,

* The words of the Vulgate in this place, are, *flagellati ſunt*, which ſignify, were laſhed with rods or whips: and in v. 16. *flagellis cædimur*, which has the ſame meaning.

" manded, Wherefore have you not fulfilled " your taſk in making brick, both yeſterday " and to-day, as heretofore ?"

15. " Then the Officers of the children of " Iſrael came and cried unto Pharaoh, ſaying, " Wherefore dealeſt thou thus with thy ſer- " vants ?"

16. " There is no ſtraw given unto thy " ſervants, and they ſay to us, Make brick: " and behold we are beaten, but the fault is " in thine own people."—Now, I think that no commentary is neceſſary to prove that the flagellations mentioned here were not in any degree voluntary on the part of thoſe who underwent them.

We alſo find mention made in Leviticus of the puniſhment of Flagellation: this is the puniſhment awarded, in the nineteenth chapter, againſt thoſe who ſhould be guilty of the ſin of Fornication. " And whoſoever lieth " carnally with a woman that is a bond-maid, " betrothed to an huſband, and not at all re- " deemed, nor freedom given her, ſhe ſhall " be ſcourged; they ſhall not be put to death, " becauſe ſhe was not free."

The Hebrew words in the text, which are commonly tranſlated by theſe, *ſhall be ſcourged*, are juſtly tranſlated ſo; though in the verſion

ſion of the LXX. they are only tranſlated by the words, *ſhall be puniſhed**; for the puniſhment

* The Hebrew words in the text are נִקְרַת חֻחִית; the Greek words for theſe, in the LXX. are, ἐπισκοπὴ ἔσται αὐτοῖς.—As I do not underſtand Hebrew, I ſhall not try to make any remark on the above Hebrew words, but truſt for that to the ſagaciouſneſs of the reader; however, with reſpect to the Greek words that follow them, I think I ſhould be greatly wanting in my duty to the Public, in my capacity of Commentator, if I did not communicate to them an obſervation with which thoſe words ſupply me, which is, that there is a material error in the paſſage above recited, in our common tranſlation of the Bible; for the Reader may ſee that the puniſhment of ſcourging, in caſe of fornication, is confined, in that paſſage, to the Woman ſolely; whereas the word αὐτοῖς, which is a plural word, ſhews that both the Man and Woman were to be puniſhed alike; and inſtead of *ſhe ſhall*, as our Bible is worded in that paſſage, it ought to be, *they ſhall* be ſcourged. This remark on the above ſingular alteration of the true ſenſe of the Bible, to the prejudice of Women (ſuppoſing it is not an error of the preſs) naturally leads me to take notice here of the unjuſt diſpoſition

ment uſed on thoſe occaſions was inflicted, as the learned Vatable obſerves, with thongs of ox-leather, that is to ſay, with ſcourges. To this I think it is needleſs to add, that the Iſraelites did not voluntarily impoſe on themſelves the abovementioned ſcourgings, and that they never were ſuffered by any of them but much againſt their will.

In the xxvth chapter of Deuteronomy, the number of laſhes which Offenders of any kind were to receive, was limited to forty. V. 2. "And it ſhall be, if the wicked may be worthy to be beaten, that the Judge ſhall cauſe him to lie down, and to be beaten before his face, according to a certain number."

3. "Forty

tion of Men towards Women in general, in all that relates to the mutual intercourſe of the Sexes: a diſpoſition that has induced them in modern times to impoſe humiliating penalties on ſuch Women as are guilty of ſins which the Men themſelves commit with the utmoſt freedom, and thus to eſtabliſh a mortifying difference, in that reſpect, between the two ſexes, inſtead of that amiable equality which obtained between them under the Jewiſh law, according to which the Man and Woman who had committed together the ſin of Fornication, were laſhed with equal numbers of ſtripes.

3. "Forty ſtripes he may give him, and "not exceed; but if he ſhould exceed, and "beat him above theſe with many ſtripes, "then thy brother ſhould ſeem vile unto "thee."

Now, it is evident from the above paſſage, that the Iſraelites were very far from approving any cruel flagellations, like thoſe which Monks in our days inflict on themſelves with whip-cords filled with knots, or ſometimes armed with nails or needles; ſince they were even forbidden to ſuffer their Brother to be too cruelly laſhed in their preſence. Nor was it the inciſions made on the bodies of innocent perſons before the altar of Moloch, or at the funerals of the dead, which God meant here to prevent; He even preſcribed tenderneſs to the ſufferings of a convicted offender, though he deſerved the ſtripes that were inflicted on him. Therefore, if the law of God forbad any cruel exceſs in the chaſtiſing of perſons who were guilty of crimes, much more did it diſapprove that Men ſhould unmercifully laſh and flay themſelves with rods and whip-cords. Indeed, the modern practice of laſhing and whipping one's ſelf to the effuſion of blood, is by no means intitled to our admiration. How could it be poſſible

that an unhappy Friar, who lives in certain modern Monaſteries, ſhould not have his ſkin torn from head to foot, ſince it is a conſtant practice among them to diſcipline themſelves three or four times every week, during the whole time that the *Miſerere*, the *De Profundis* *, and the *Salve Regina*, are ſinging, with a melodious, though ſlow, voice; and that too ſo heavily, and in ſuch earneſt, that the rattling of the blows reſounds on all ſides?

Several perſons, however, ſtill inſiſt that religious flagellations were in uſe among the ancient Jews, and draw, it muſt be confeſſed, ſtrong arguments from the words of David, in

* The *Miſerere* is the 51ſt Pſalm; and the *De Profundis* is the 130th, which is none of the ſhorteſt.

The ſinging of the *Miſerere* ſeems to be particularly appropriated, among Catholics, to regulate both the duration of religious flagellations, and the *time* to which they are to be performed, as we may conclude from the above paſſage of our Author; and alſo from a paſſage of M. de Voltaire in his *Candide*, in which he ſays, that, when *Candide* was flagellated at Liſbon, by order of the Inquiſition, he was all the while entertained with a *Miſerere en faux bourdon*; which is a kind of Church Muſic.

in Pſal. lxxiii. 14: "*For all the day long have "I been plagued, and chaſtened every morn-"ing**." But if we conſider attentively theſe expreſſions of the Prophet, we ſhall find that they do not by any means ſignify that he laſhed himſelf with a ſcourge every day, and all the day long. Thoſe ſtripes of which he ſpeaks are to be underſtood only in a figurative ſenſe, and they only mean thoſe misfortunes and tribulations which are frequently the lot of the righteous in this world: and indeed we ſee that David exclaims elſewhere, '*For I 'am ready to halt, and my ſorrow is continu-'ally before me.*'

Beſides, we are to obſerve that St. Auſtin, a Writer of the higheſt authority, paraphraſes the above-mentioned paſſage of Pſ. lxxiii. in the following manner: "I am never free "from afflictions from God; I diſcharge my "duty, and yet I am beaten, &c." Indeed the above is only the rational meaning of the paſſage in queſtion; and we cannot with any degree

* The expreſſions of the *Vulgate* are, *fui flagellatus, I have been whipped.* The *Vulgate* of the Old Teſtament is a very ancient Latin verſion of it from the Hebrew, corrected afterwards by St. Jerom, which is followed in all Catholic Countries.

degree of probability infer from it (as certain perſons do) that the practice of ſcourging one's ſelf voluntarily, and laſhing one's hide with rods and whip-cords, was in uſe among the ancient Hebrews, and that ſuch a whimſical notion ever entered their heads. It is true that Philo *the Jew*, and Euſebius of Cæſarea, relate, that the Eſſeans, or *Therapeutæ* (whether they were a particular ſect of the Jews, or are to be ranked among the firſt Chriſtians, is not clear) were celebrated on account of the macerations which they practiſed; but then we are intirely ignorant of the methods which they uſed in order to mortify themſelves, and we are no where told that they employed for that purpoſe either *diſciplines* or whips.

Yet, this cannot be diſallowed, that after the two Rabbins, *Mayr*, and *Aſſe the Son*, had compiled the Babylonian Talmud *, that is to ſay,

* The Talmud is the Tradition, or *unwritten* law of the Jews, the Law of Moſes being their *written* Law. This Tradition has, in proceſs of time, been ſet down in writing; and two different Collections have been made of it: the one, in the Jeruſalem School, about three hundred years after Jeſus Chriſt, which is called the *Jeruſalem* Talmud;

ſay, about the 476th year from the birth of our Lord, new practices began to prevail among the Jews. Faſcinated, I do not know by what kind of ſuperſtition, they began to uſe, contrary to their former cuſtoms, a ſort of voluntary diſcipline; though, we are to obſerve, they never inflicted ſuch diſcipline on themſelves with their own hands. We are informed of the above fact, in the Treatiſe intitled *Malkos*, in the 3d Chapter of which it is ſaid, that the Jews, after they had finiſhed their prayers and confeſſed their ſins (which were exerciſes they derived from their anceſtors) uſed to laſh one another with ſcourges.

John Buxtorf the Father, a Proteſtant Author, in his Book of the *Judaic Synagogue*, printed at Baſil in the year 1661, deſcribes the above practice of the Jews at ſome length, and ſays, That there are conſtantly two Men in every Jewiſh ſchool, who withdraw from the reſt of the Company, and retire into a particular place of the room where they are

Talmud; the other, in the Babylonian School, five hundred years after Jeſus Chriſt, and is called the *Babylon* Talmud. The latter is that which is uſually read among the Jews; and when they ſimply ſay, the *Talmud*, they mean the Babylon Talmud.

met; that the one lays himſelf flat on the ground with his head turned to the North, and his feet to the South (or his head to the South, and his feet to the North); and that the other, who remains ſtanding, gives him thirty-nine blows upon his back with a ſtrap, or thong of ox-leather. In the meanwhile, the Man who is laſhed, recites three times over the thirty-eighth verſe of Pſal. lxxviii. This verſe, in the Hebrew language, contains juſt thirteen words; at every word the Patient recites, he receives a laſh from the other Man; which, when he has recited the whole verſe three times over, makes up the preſcribed number of thirty-nine; and at every time he ſays the laſt word, he ſtrikes his own breaſt with his fiſt *. This operation being concluded,

* Buxtorf, the Author from whom the above facts are drawn, is mentioned with great praiſe in the *Scaligerana*, which is a Collection, or mixture, of Notes, partly French, partly Latin, found in the papers of J. Scaliger, and printed after his death. Buxtorf is called, in one of theſe Notes, the only Man learned in the Hebrew language; and Scaliger adds, that it is ſurpriſing how the Jews can love him, though he has handled them

cluded, the *Agent* in his turn becomes the *Patient*, and places himſelf in the ſame ſituation as the other had done, who then uſes him in the ſame brotherly manner in which the former had uſed him, and they thus mutually chaſtiſe each other for their ſins, and *rub one another*, Buxtorf obſerves, *like Aſſes*.

Perhaps the Reader will be ſurpriſed that the Rabbins have limited the number of the ſtripes inflicted in the manner above-deſcribed, to thirty-nine, ſince the Law of Moſes had extended their number to forty; but to this the Rabbins anſwer, that it is owing to the peculiar manner in which the puniſhment of ſtripes was inflicted in antient times. The ancient Jews, they ſay, uſed a ſcourge made of three thongs; one of which was very long, and went round the body of the perſon who was ſcourged, and the two others were a good deal ſhorter. Thirteen blows with this *three-thonged* ſcourge were given to the Patient; which, according to the Rabbins' manner of explaining the law, made thirty-nine ſtripes in

ſo ſeverely; which ſhews that he has been impartial in his accounts. *Mirum quomodo Buxtorfius à Judæis ametur, in illâ tamen Synagogâ Judaicâ illos valdè perſtringit.*

all: now, if one ſtroke more had been given him, he would have received forty-two, which would have been contrary to the law of Moſes, which ſays, "Forty ſtripes he may give him, "and not exceed *."

* It is to be ſuppoſed, that the Jew Prieſts had been well freed for the above benign interpretations they gave of the law of Moſes.

CHAP. III.

Voluntary flagellations were unknown to the firſt Chriſtians. An explanation is given of the paſſage of St. Paul: I chaſtiſe my body, and keep it under ſubjection *.

FLAGELLATIONS are mentioned ſo often as eleven times by the Holy Writers of the New Teſtament.

Of

* As the diſputes concerning religious flagellations have been carried on with great warmth on both ſides, the two parties have ranſacked the Scriptures for paſſages that might ſupport their reſpective opinions; and the ſupporters of flagellations have been particularly happy in the diſcovery of the paſſage of David, mentioned in the preceding Chapter; and that of St. Paul which is recited here. By the former paſſage, the ſupporters of flagellations pretend to ſhew, that they were in uſe ſo early as the time of David; and that the Prophet underwent a flagellation every morning: by the latter paſſage, they endeavour to prove that

Of theſe, five relate to Jeſus Chriſt. The firſt is in the *xxth chapter* of the Goſpel according

ſelf-ſcourgings were practiſed by St. Paul, and of courſe by the firſt Chriſtians. As the literal meaning of the above two paſſages is wholly on the ſide of the ſupporters of flagellations, this, as it always happens in controverſies of that kind, has given them a great advantage over their opponents, who have been reduced, either to plead that the expreſſions urged againſt them were only to be underſtood in a figurative ſenſe, or to endeavour, by altering the original paſſage, to ſubſtitute others in their ſtead. The latter is the expedient on which our Author has chiefly relied in this chapter, and he ſtrives to ſubſtitute another word, to the word ὑπωπιάζω, uſed by St. Paul when he ſaid, he *chaſtiſed* his *fleſh*; which is to be found in all the common Editions of the Greek New Teſtament. And indeed it muſt be confeſſed, that the above word is of itſelf extremely favourable to the promoters of ſelf-flagellation; little leſs ſo than the words of Aſaph, *fui flagellatus (I have been whipped)* mentioned in the foregoing Chapter; its preciſe meaning being the ſame as *I bruiſe or diſcolour with blows:* it comes from the word ὑπώπιον, which ſignifies a livid mark left under the eye by a

cording to St. Matthew, v. 19; and in the *xxvith* of the ſame, v. 26. In the *xvth chapter* of St. Mark's Goſpel, v. 33. In the *xviith chapter* of the Goſpel according to St. Luke, v. 33; and in the *xixth chapter* of the

blow: on which the Reader may obſerve (which, no doubt, will be matter of agreeable ſurpriſe to him) that what is called in plain Engliſh a *black-eye*, was expreſſed in Greek by the word ὑπώπιον. Beſides trying to ſubſtitute another word to that attributed to St. Paul in the common Greek Editions of the New Teſtament, our Author produces ſeveral paſſages from Greek and Latin Fathers, to ſhew that they thought that St. Paul meant no more than to ſpeak of his great labours, abſtinence, continence, &c.

The principal end of this Chapter is, therefore, to diſcuſs the intereſting queſtion, whether St. Paul uſed to flagellate himſelf: and I have preferred to give the above compendious account of the conteſt on the ſubject, rather than introduce the long diſcuſſion of Greek words, and uſe the whole ſtring of paſſages from Greek and Latin Fathers, contained in the Abbé Boileau's Book. By that means, the preſent Chapter has, for the ſake of the Reader, been ſhortened to ten pages, inſtead of thirty, it muſt otherwiſe have contained.

Goſpel according to St. John, v. 1 *. No juſt concluſion, as the Reader may ſee, can be drawn from the above-mentioned paſſages, in ſupport of voluntary flagellations, and of thoſe *Diſciplines* which Monks now-a-days inflict on themſelves; ſince it is plain that our Saviour did not whip himſelf with his own hands: and we might as well ſay that we ought to inflict death upon ourſelves, and nail ourſelves to a croſs, as that we ought to lacerate our own fleſh with ſcourges, becauſe Jeſus Chriſt was expoſed to that kind of puniſhment.

The other ſix paſſages of the New Teſtament in which whipping is mentioned, are, firſt, in St. John's (c. ii. v. 15.) *And when He had made a ſcourge of ſmall cords, he drove them out of the Temple, and the ſheep, and the oxen; and poured out the changers of money, and overthrew the tables.* The ſecond chapter is in the fifth chapter of the Acts (v. 40.) *And when they had called the Apoſtles and beaten*

* "And ſhall deliver him to the Gentiles to "mock, and to ſcourge and to crucify him." St. *Matth.* c. xx. v. 19. . . . . "Then Pilate took "Jeſus, and ſcourged him." St. *John*, c. xix. ver. 1.

them with ſcourges, they commanded that they ſhould not ſpeak in the name of Jeſus; and let them go. The third place in which ſcourgings are mentioned, is the ſixth chapter of the ſecond Epiſtle to the Corinthians (v. 15.) St. Paul in that Chapter places *Stripes* among the different methods of perſecution which were uſed againſt the miniſters of the Goſpel; and he moreover relates the ſufferings to which he himſelf had been expoſed. *Of the Jews five times received I forty ſtripes ſave one:* and in the next verſe he ſays, *Thrice was I beaten with rods, once was I ſtoned, thrice I ſuffered ſhipwreck; a night and a day I have been in the deep.* Fifthly, in his Epiſtle to the Hebrews (xi. 36.) the ſame Apoſtle ſays, ſpeaking in general terms, *And others had trials of cruel mockings and ſcourgings, yea, moreover of bonds and impriſonments.* Now, from all theſe paſſages no authority whatever can be derived to juſtify the practice of voluntary flagellation. All the perſecuted perſons above-mentioned ſuffered thoſe beatings with rods, and thoſe ſcourgings, much againſt their will.

The ſixth and laſt paſſage in which whipping is mentioned, in the New Teſtament, is therefore the only one from which any ſpecious concluſion may be drawn in ſupport of the

practice of voluntary flagellation: it is contained in the firſt Epiſtle to the Corinthians (ix. 22); St. Paul in it ſays, *I chaſtiſe my body, and keep it under ſubjection.* Indeed this paſſage is well worth examining attentively. Several men of great authority have given it as their opinion, that the Apoſtle expreſsly meant to ſay, by the above words, that it was his practice to laſh himſelf, in order to overcome his vicious inclinations. Among others, James Gretzer, an able Theologian and one of the Fathers Jeſuits, vehemently aſſerts that the Greek words in the text literally ſignify, "I imprint on my own body the ſtripes or "marks of the whip, and render it livid by "dint of blows;" and the ſame Father ſupports his aſſertion by the authority of *Septalius* and *Guaſtininius*, two celebrated Interpreters of Ariſtotle, who, in their Commentaries, quote *Gallienus* as having uſed the Greek word in queſtion (ὑπωπιάζω) in the ſame ſenſe which he (Father Gretzer) attributes to St. Paul. To theſe authorities Gretzer moreover adds thoſe of St. Irenæus, St. Chryſoſtom, Paulinus, and Theophylactus, who (he ſays) have all explained the above paſſage in the ſame manner as himſelf does: ſo that, if we were to credit all the comments of Father Gretzer, there would, indeed, re-

main little doubt but that St. Paul meant to ſay, he fuſtigated himſelf with his own hands; and that he was thereby left an example which all faithful Chriſtians ought in duty to imitate.

But yet, if, ſetting aſide, for the preſent, all authorities on this head, we begin with examining attentively into the real meaning of the Greek word which is the ſubject of the preſent controverſy, we ſhall ſee that it cannot have that ſignification which Father Gretzer pretends. In fact, let us examine if that word occurs in any other place of the New Teſtament, and in what ſenſe it is employed. We meet with it in the eighteenth Chapter of St. Luke, wherein Jeſus Chriſt ſays, in the manner of a Parable, that a Widow uſed to teaze a Judge with her frequent complaints, who was thereby compelled at laſt to do her juſtice; and he makes him ſpeak in the following words: "Becauſe this Widow trou-" bles me, I will avenge her, leſt by her con-" tinual coming, ſhe *weary* me (ὑπωπιάζῃ " με.) Now, who can imagine that this Judge entertained any fear that the Woman ſhould flagellate him? Yet, we muſt think ſo, if the Greek word uſed in the Text (which is the very ſame as that employed by St. Paul, and on which Father Gretzer builds his ſyſtem)

ſhould always ſignify, as that Father pretends, to beat, or laſh. If a literal explanation of that word, therefore, is in many caſes improper and ridiculous, it follows that it is frequently to be underſtood in a figurative ſenſe, and that it is then only employed to expreſs that kind of hard uſage either of one's ſelf, or of others, which is exerciſed without any mixture of real violence, or bodily ſufferings. To this add, that St. Paul himſelf, when, on other occaſions he really means to ſpeak of blows and actual ſtripes, never once makes uſe of the word in queſtion.

Beſides, if in order rightly to underſtand the meaning of St. Paul, we conſult the holy Fathers and Interpreters (which certainly is a very good method of inveſtigating the truth), we ſhall ſcarcely find one who thought that St. Paul either beat or laſhed himſelf, and in the above paſſage meant to ſpeak of any ſuch thing as voluntary Flagellation. St. Iræneus, Biſhop of Lyons, though he has tranſlated the words in queſtion into theſe, "*I chaſtiſe my own body, and render it livid*," has made no mention whatever of either ſcourges, whips, or rods.—St. Chryſoſtom likewiſe ſuppoſes, that the Apoſtle in the above paſſage, only ſpoke of the pains and care he took, in order to preſerve

his temperance, and conquer the paſſions of the fleſh; and that it was the ſame as if he had ſaid, "I ſubmit to much labour, in order to "live according to the rules of Temperance. "I undergo every kind of hardſhip, rather "than ſuffer myſelf to be led aſtray" It muſt be confeſſed, however, that Benedictus Haeſtenus, in his *Diſquiſitiones Monaſticæ*, quotes a paſſage from the above Author's 34th Homily, by which he pretends to prove that ſelf-flagellations were in uſe in that Father's time; but the words which Haeftenus has quoted in Latin are not to be found in the original Greek of St. Chryſoſtom's Homilies, and are therefore to be attributed to ſome modern Flogging-Maſter (Μαστιγοφόρος) who has lent them to him, by a kind of pious fraud. Other paſſages to prove our aſſertion, might be quoted from the words of Theodoret, Biſhop of Cyrus, of Oecumenius, as well as ſeveral other Greek Fathers.

The Latin have alſo underſtood St. Paul's words in the ſame ſenſe that the Greek Fathers have done. Indeed I do not find one among them but who thought that St. Paul did not actually laſh himſelf with his own hands. St. Ambroſius, Biſhop of Milan, expreſſes himſelf on the ſubject in the following words. 'He

'who ſays (meaning St. Paul) I chaſtiſe my 'body, and bring it into ſubjection, does not 'ſo much *grieve (contriſtatur)* for his own 'ſins, which after all could not be ſo very nu-'merous, as for ours.'

St. Fulgentius, Biſhop of Ruſpe, and an illuſtrious Diſcipline of St. Auguſtin, on this occaſion treads in the footſteps of his excellent Maſter, giving the ſame ſenſe as him to the words of St. Paul. The following is the manner in which St. Fulgentius explains thoſe words, in his Epiſtle *on Virginity*, addreſſed to *Proba*. "The ſpiritual Spouſe of Virgins "does not ſeek in a Virgin a body practiſed "in carnal pleaſures; but rather wiſhes ſhe "ſhould have chaſtiſed it by abſtinence. This, "the Doctor of the Gentiles uſed to practiſe "on his own body. *I chaſtiſe* (ſays he) *my* "*body, and keep it under ſubjection.* And "again, *in watchings often, in thirſt and hun-*"*ger, in faſtings often:* let therefore the Vir-"gin of Chriſt forbear to ſeek after pleaſures "which, ſhe ſees, are equally with-held from "the widow."

To all the above proofs, I know it will be objected that St. Petrus Chryſologus, archbiſhop of Ravenna, is clearly of opinion that St. Paul laſhed himſelf with his own hands.

The following is the manner in which he expreſſes himſelf on this head, at leaſt if we are to credit the account given of his words by that great Patron of flagellations, Father Gretzer, in his Book printed at Ingolſtadt in the year 1609. "This St. Paul uſed to do, "who wrote in the following words the title-"deed of his own Servitude, *I render my bo-"dy livid, and bring it into ſubjection:* like a "faithful Slave, himſelf ſupplied the rod, "*(vindictam)* and ſeverely laſhed his own "back, till it grew livid *." Now, who would not from theſe words, thus ſtanding alone, as Father Gretzer recites them, conclude that St. Paul really uſed to cover his back with ſtripes? But, if we conſult the original itſelf, we ſhall ſee that St. Chryſologus meant no more than to borrow a ſimile from the puniſhment uſually inflicted on Slaves; which puniſhment he mentions in the beginning of the very paſſage we diſcuſs here, and of which Father Gretzer has artfully quoted only the concluſion. "After all (ſays *Peter Chryſo-*

* *Hoc implebat* Paulus, *qui ſervitutis ſuæ titulos ſic ſcribebat.* Lividum facio corpus meum, & ſervituti ſubjicio. *Præbebat vindictam bonus ſervus, qui ſe uſque ad livorem, ſic agens, jugiter verberabat.*

" *logus)* if the Servant does not awake early " the next day, and riſe before his Maſter, " whether he be weary or not, he will be tied " up and laſhed. If the Servant therefore " knows what he owes to another Man, the " Maſter is thence taught what himſelf owes " to the Lord of Lords, and is made ſenſible " that he alſo is ſubject to a Maſter." ' This ' is what St. Paul practiſed, who wrote the ' title-deeds of his own ſervitude, and ex- ' poſed himſelf to thirſt, hunger, and naked- ' neſs. Like a good ſlave, he himſelf ſup- ' plied the rod, and ſeverely laſhed himſelf.'

If we examine into the works of St. Hierom, St. Auſtin, Pope Gregory the Great, and other Latin Fathers, we ſhall find that they alſo underſtood, that St. Paul had expreſſed himſelf in a figurative manner. And it is only by miſquotations, or arts of the like kind, that Father Gretzer, Cardinal Demian, and others, have attempted to prove that ſelf-flagellations were in uſe ſo early as the time of St. Paul among Chriſtians.

CHAP. IV.

The uſe of Flagellations was known among the ancient Heathens. Several facts and obſervations on that ſubject.

IT is not to be doubted, that flagellations had been invented, and were become, in early times, a common method of puniſhment in the Pagan world. Even before the foundation of Rome, we meet with inſtances which prove that it was the uſual puniſhment inflicted on Slaves. Juſtin, in his Epitome of Trogus Pompeius, relates that the Scythians more eaſily overcame their rebellious Slaves with ſcourges and whips, than with their ſwords. 'The Scythians being returned (ſays Juſtin) 'from their third expedition in Aſia, after 'having been abſent eight years from their 'Wives and Children, found they now had a 'war to wage at home againſt their own 'Slaves. For, their Wives, tired with ſuch 'long fruitleſs expectation of their Huſbands, 'and concluding that they were no longer de-'tained by war, but had been deſtroyed, mar-

'ried the Slaves who had been left to take 'care of the cattle; which latter attempted to 'uſe their Maſters, who returned victorious, 'like Strangers, and hinder them, by force of 'arms, from entering the Country. The war 'having been ſupported, for a while, with 'ſucceſs pretty nearly equal on both ſides, the 'Scythians were adviſed to change their man-'ner of carrying it on, remembering that it 'was not with enemies, but with their own 'Slaves, that they had to fight; that they 'were to conquer by dint, not of arms, but 'of their right as Maſters; that inſtead of 'weapons, they ought to bring laſhes into the 'field, and, ſetting iron aſide, to ſupply them-'ſelves with rods, ſcourges, and ſuch like in-'ſtruments of ſlaviſh fear. Having approved 'this counſel, the Scythians armed themſelves 'as they were adviſed to do; and had no 'ſooner come up with their enemies, than 'they exhibited on a ſudden their new wea-'pons, and thereby ſtruck ſuch a terror into 'their minds, that thoſe who could not be 'conquered by arms, were ſubdued by the 'dread of the ſtripes, and betook themſelves 'to flight, not like a vanquiſhed enemy, but 'like fugitive ſlaves.'

Among the antient Perſians, the puniſh-ment of whipping was alſo in uſe: it was even

frequently inflicted on the Grandees of the Kingdom by order of the King, as we find in *Stobæus*, who moreover relates in his forty-second Diſcourſe, 'That when one of them 'had been flagellated by order of the King, 'it was an eſtabliſhed cuſtom, that he ſhould 'give him thanks as for an excellent favour he had received, and a token that the 'King remembered him.' This cuſtom of the Perſians was however in ſubſequent times altered: they began to ſet ſome more value on the ſkin of Men; and we find in Plutarch's *Apophthegms of Kings*, 'That Artaxerxes, ſon 'of Xerxes, ſirnamed the *Longhanded*, was 'the firſt who ordered that the Grandees of 'his kingdom ſhould no longer be expoſed to 'the former method of puniſhment; but 'that, when they ſhould have been guilty of 'ſome offence, inſtead of their backs, only their 'clothes ſhould be whipped, after they had 'been ſtripped of them.'

We alſo find, that it was a cuſtom in antient times, for Generals and Conquerors, to flog the Captives they had taken in war; and that they moreover took delight in inflicting that puniſhment with their own hands on the moſt conſiderable of thoſe Captives. We meet, among others, with a very remarkable proof of this practice, in the Tragedy of So-

phocles, called *Ajax Scourgebearer* (Μαστιγοφόρος): in a Scene of this Tragedy Ajax is introduced as having the following converſation with Minerva.

MINERVA.

'What kind of ſeverity do you prepare for 'that miſerable man?'

AJAX.

'I propoſe to laſh his back with a ſcourge 'till he dies.'

MINERVA.

'Nay, do not whip the poor Wretch ſo 'cruelly.'

AJAX.

'Give me leave, Minerva, to gratify, on 'this occaſion, my own fancy; he ſhall have 'it, I do aſſure you, and I prepare no other 'puniſhment for him.'

The puniſhment of flagellation was alſo much in vogue among the Romans; and it was the common chaſtiſement which Judges inflicted upon Offenders, eſpecially upon thoſe of a ſervile condition. Surrounded by an apparatus of whips, ſcourges, and leather-ſtraps, they terrified Offenders, and brought them to a ſenſe of their duty.

Judges, among the Romans, as has been juſt now mentioned, uſed a great variety of inſtruments for inflicting the puniſhment of whipping. Some conſiſted of a flat ſtrap of leather, and were called *Ferulæ*; and to be laſhed with theſe *Ferulæ*, was conſidered as the mildeſt degree of puniſhment. Others were made of a number of cords of twiſted parchment, and were called *Scuticæ*. Theſe *Scuticæ* were conſidered as being a degree higher in point of ſeverity than the *ferulæ*, but were much inferior, in that reſpect, to that kind of ſcourge which was called *Flagellum*, and ſometimes *the terrible Flagellum*, which was made of thongs of ox-leather, the ſame as thoſe which Carmen uſed for their Horſes. We find in the third Satyr of the firſt Book of *Horace*, a clear and pretty ſingular account of the gradation in point of ſeverity that obtained between the above-mentioned inſtruments of whipping. In this Satyr, Horace lays down the rules which he thinks a Judge ought to follow in the diſcharge of his office; and he addreſſed himſelf, ſomewhat ironically, to certain perſons who, adopting the principles of the Stoics, affected much ſeverity in their opinions, and pretended that all crimes whatever being equal, ought to be puniſhed in the ſame manner. ‘ Make ſuch a rule of conduct to

'yourſelf (ſays Horace) that you may always 'proportion the chaſtiſement you inflict to the 'magnitude of the offence; and when the 'Offender only deſerves to be chaſtiſed with 'the whip of twiſted parchment, do not ex-'poſe him to the laſh of the horrid leather 'ſcourge; for, that you ſhould only inflict 'the puniſhment of the flat ſtrap on him who 'deſerves a more ſevere laſhing, is what I am 'by no means afraid of *.'

The choice between theſe different kinds of inſtruments, was, as we may conclude from the above paſſage, left to the Judge, who ordered that to be uſed which he was pleaſed to name; and the number of blows was likewiſe left to his diſcretion; which ſometimes were as many as the Executioner could give. 'He (ſays Horace in one of his Odes) 'who has been laſhed by order of the Trum-'virs, till the Executioner was ſpent †.'

* ——— *Adſit*
Regula peccatis quæ pœnas irroget æquas,
Nec Scuticâ dignum horribili ſectere Flagello;
Nam, ut Ferulâ cædas meritum majora ſubire
Verbera, non vereor. Lib. I. Sat. I. v. 117.

† *Sectus flagellis hic Triumviralibus*
Præconis ad faſtidium. Lib. V. Ode IV. v. 11, 12.

Beſides this extenſive power of whipping exerciſed by Judges among the Romans, over perſons of a ſervile condition, over Aliens, and thoſe who were the ſubjects of the Republic, Maſters were poſſeſſed of an unbounded one with regard to their Slaves, over whoſe life and death they had moreover an abſolute power. Hence a great number of inſtruments of flagellation, beſides thoſe above-mentioned, were ſucceſſively brought into uſe for puniſhing Slaves. Among thoſe were particular kinds of cords manufactured in Spain, as we learn from a paſſage in an Ode of Horace, the ſame that has juſt been quoted, and was addreſſed to one *Menas*, a freed-man, who had found means to acquire a great fortune, and was grown very inſolent. 'Thou (ſays 'Horace) whoſe ſides are ſtill diſcoloured (or 'burnt) with the ſtripes of the Spaniſh 'cords *.'

A number of other inſtances of this practice of whipping Slaves, as well as other different names of inſtruments uſed for that purpoſe, may be found in the antient Latin Writers, ſuch as Plautus, Terence, Horace, Martial, &c. So prevalent had the above prac-

* *Ibericis peruſte funibus latus.*
Lib. V. Ode IV. v. 3.

tice become, that Slaves were frequently denominated from that particular kind of flagellation which they were moſt commonly made to undergo. Some were called *Reſtiones*, becauſe they were uſed to be laſhed with cords; others were called *Bucædæ*, becauſe they were uſually laſhed with thongs of ox-leather; and it is in conſequence of this cuſtom, that a Man is made to ſay in one of Plautus's Plays, 'They ſhall be *Bucædæ* (that is to ſay, ſcourged with leather-thongs) whether they will or no, before I conſent to be *Reſtio*,' or ſo much as beaten with cords*. And Tertullian, meaning in one of his Writings to expreſs Slaves in general, uſes words which ſimply ſignify 'thoſe who are uſed to be beaten, or to be diſcoloured with blows†.'

* *Erunt Bucædæ invitò, potius quàm ego ſim Reſtio.* Moſtell. Act. IV. Sc. II.

† *Verberones, Subverbuſtos.*—The latter word literally ſignifies, *burnt with blows:* a figurative expreſſion commonly uſed among the Romans, when they ſpoke of flagellations: thus, the words *flagrum* and *flagellum*, had been derived from the word *flagrare*, which ſignifies *to burn*; and Horace, in a paſſage that will be quoted in page 66, ſays, *to be burnt* with rods *(virgis uri)* for, *to be laſhed.*

Nay, ſo generally were whipping and laſhing conſidered among the Romans, as being the lot of Slaves, that a whip, or a ſcourge, was become among them the emblem of their condition. Of this we have an inſtance in the ſingular cuſtom mentioned by *Camerarius*, which prevailed among them, of placing in the triumphal car, behind the Triumpher, a man with a whip in his hand; the meaning of which was to ſhew, that it was no impoſſible thing for a Man to fall from the higheſt pitch of glory into the moſt abject condition, even into that of a Slave.

Suetonius alſo relates a fact which affords another remarkable inſtance of this notion of the Romans, of looking upon a whip as a characteriſtic mark of dominion on the one hand, and of ſlavery on the other. 'Cicero 'ſays Suetonius, in the life of Auguſtus) 'having accompanied Cæſar to the Capitol, 'related to a few friends whom he met there, 'a dream which he had had the night before. 'It ſeemed to him, he ſaid, that a graceful 'Boy came down from Heaven, ſuſpended 'by a golden chain; that he ſtopped before 'the gate of the Capitol, and that Jupiter 'gave him a whip (*flagellum*). Having af-'terwards ſuddenly ſeen Auguſtus, whom (as 'he was ſtill perſonally unknown to ſeveral of

'his near relations) Cæſar had ſent for and 'brought along with him to be preſent at the 'ceremony, he aſſured his friends that he was 'the very perſon whoſe figure he had ſeen 'during his ſleep.' Juvenal likewiſe, in one of his Satyrs, has ſpoken of Auguſtus conformably to the above notion of the Romans. 'The ſame (ſays he) who, after conquering 'the Romans, has ſubjected them to his 'whip *,'

* *Ad ſua qui domitos deduxit flagra Quirites.*
Juv. Sat. X. v. 99.

This notion of the Romans, of looking upon a ſcourge as a characteriſtic appendage of dominion, was ſo general among them, as is obſerved above, that they moreover ſuppoſed the gods themſelves to be ſupplied with whips; and even Venus had alſo been thought to be furniſhed with one. In conſequence of this ſuppoſition, Horace, who, as we may conclude from thence, had cauſe to be diſſatisfied with ſome trick his Miſtreſs had played him, or perhaps only with her impertinence in general, deſires Venus to chaſtiſe her with her whip, "Do, Queen, (ſays he, addreſſing Venus) "do, for once, give arrogant Chloe a touch with "your ſublime whip."

Regina, ſublimi flagello
Tange Chloën ſemel arrogantem.
Od. 26. Lib. III. ad Ven.

But, beſides all thoſe inſtruments of flagellation uſed for puniſhing Slaves, which have been mentioned above, and as if the terrible *flagellum* had not been of itſelf ſufficiently ſo, new contrivances were uſed to make the latter a ſtill more cruel weapon; and the thongs with which that kind of ſcourge was made, were frequently armed with nails, or ſmall hard bones. They alſo would ſometimes faſten to thoſe thongs ſmall leaden weights: hence ſcourges were ſometimes called *Aſtragala*, as Heſychius relates, from the name of thoſe kinds of weights which the Ancients uſed to wear hanging about their ſhoes. Under the tortures which thoſe different inſtruments inflicted, it was no wonder that Slaves ſhould die: indeed this was a frequent caſe; and the cruelty, eſpecially of Miſtreſſes towards their female Slaves, grew at laſt ſo ſuch a pitch, that a proviſion was made in the Council of Elvira to reſtrain it; and it was ordained, that if any Miſtreſs ſhould cauſe her Slave to be whipped with ſo much cruelty as that ſhe ſhould die, the Miſtreſs ſhould be ſuſpended from Communion for a certain number of years. The following are the terms of the above Ordinance, in the fifth Canon. "If a Miſtreſs, in a fit of anger and madneſs, ſhall

laſh her female Slave, or cauſe her to be laſhed, in ſuch a mnner that ſhe expires before the third day, by reaſon of the torture ſhe has undergone; inaſmuch as it is doubtful whether it has deſignedly happened, or by chance; if it has deſignedly happened, the Miſtreſs ſhall be excommunicated for ſeven years; if by chance, ſhe ſhall be excommunicated for five years only; though, if ſhe ſhall fall into ſickneſs, ſhe may receive the Communion *."

* The abſolute dominion poſſeſſed by Maſters over the perſons of their ſlaves, led them to uſe a ſingular ſeverity in the government of them. So frequently were flagellations the lot of the latter, that appellations and words of reproach drawn from that kind of puniſhment, were, as hath been above obſerved, commonly uſed to denominate them; and expreſſions of this kind occur in the politeſt writers: thus, we find in the Plays of Terence, an Author particularly celebrated for his politeneſs and ſtrict obſervance of decorum, Slaves frequently called by the words *Verberones*, *Flagriones*, or others to the ſame effect.

As for Plautus, who had been the Servant of a Baker, and who was much acquainted with every thing that related to Slaves, and their flagellations in particular, he has filled his ſcenes with nick-

names of Slaves, drawn from this latter circumſtance; and they are almoſt continually called in his Plays, *flagritribæ* (a verbis, *flagrum* & *terere*) *plagipatidæ*, *ulmitribæ*, &c. beſides the appellations of *Bucædæ* and *Reſtiones*, above-mentioned.

Sometimes the flagellations of Slaves, or the fear they entertained of incurring them, ſerved Plautus as incidents for the conduct of his plots; thus, in his *Epidicus*, a Slave who is the principal character in the Play, concludes upon a certain occaſion, that his Maſter has diſcovered his whole ſcheme, becauſe he has ſpied him, in the morning, purchaſing a new ſcourge at the ſhop in which they were ſold. The ſame flagellations in general, have moreover been an inexhauſtible fund of pleaſantry for Plautus. In one place, for inſtance, a Slave, intending to laugh at a fellow-ſlave, aſks him how much he thinks he weighs, when he is ſuſpended naked, by his hands, to the beam, with an hundred weight (*centupondium*) tied to his feet; which was a precaution taken, as Commentators inform us, in order to prevent the Slave who was flagellated from kicking the Man (*Virgator*) whoſe office it was to perform the operation. And in another place, Plautus, alluding to the thongs of ox-leather with which whips were commonly made, introduces a Slave engaged in deep reflection on the ſurprizing circumſtance of

" dead bullocks, that make incurſions upon living Men."

Vivos homines mortui incurſant boves!

But it was not always upon their Slaves only that Maſters, among the Romans, inflicted the puniſhment of flagellation: they ſometimes found means to ſerve in the ſame manner the young Men of free condition, who inſinuated themſelves into their houſes, with a deſign to court their Wives. As the moſt favourable diſguiſe on ſuch occaſions, was to be dreſſed in Slaves clothes, becauſe a Man thus habited was enabled to get into the houſe, and go up and down without being noticed, Rakes engaged in amorous purſuits, uſually choſe to make uſe of it; but, when the Huſband either happened to diſcover them, or had had previous information of the appointment given by his faithful Spouſe, he feigned to miſtake the Man for a run-away Slave, or ſome ſtrange Slave who had got into his houſe to commit theft, and treated him accordingly. Indeed the opportunity was a moſt favourable one for revenge; and if to this conſideration we add that of the ſevere temper of the Romans, and the jealous diſpoſition that has always prevailed in that country, we ſhall eaſily conclude that ſuch an opportunity, when obtained, was ſeldom ſuffered to eſcape, and that many a Roman Spark, caught in the above diſguiſe, and engaged in the laudable purſuit of ſeducing his

neighbour's wife, has, with a *centupondium* to his feet, been ſadly rewarded for his ingenuity. A misfortune of that kind actually befell Salluſt the Hiſtorian. He was caught in a familiar intercourſe with Fauſtina, wife to Milo, and daughter of the Dictator Sylla. The huſband cauſed him to be ſoundly laſhed (*loris bene cæſum*); nor did he releaſe him till he had made him pay a conſiderable ſum of money. The fact is related by Aulus Gellius, who had extracted it from Varro. To it was very probably owing the violent part which Salluſt afterwards took againſt Milo, while the latter was under proſecution for ſlaying the Tribune Clodius, and the tumult he raiſed on that occaſion, which prevented Cicero from delivering the ſpeech he had prepared.

An alluſion is made to the above practices in one of Horace's Satyrs. He ſuppoſes in it, that his Slave, availing himſelf of the opportunity of the *Saturnalia*, to ſpeak his mind freely to him, gives him a lecture on the bad courſes in which he thinks him engaged, and uſes, among others, the following arguments.

'When you have ſtripped off the marks of 'your dignity, your equeſtrian ring, and your 'whole Roman dreſs, and from a Man inveſted 'with the office of Judge, ſhew yourſelf at once 'under the appearance of the Slave Dama; diſ-

'graced as you are, and hiding your perfumed 'head under your cloak, you are not the Man 'whom you feign to be: you are at leaſt intro-'duced full of terror, and your whole frame 'ſhakes through the ſtruggles of two oppoſite paſ-'ſions. In fact, what advantage is it to you, 'whether you are cut to pieces with rods, or 'ſlaughtered with iron weapons?'

Tu cum projectis inſignibus, annulo Equeſtri
Romanoque habitu, prodis ex judice Dama,
Turpis, odoratum caput obſcurante lacernâ
Non es quod ſimulas; metuens induceris, atque
Altercante libidinibus tremis oſſa pavore.
Quid refert uri virgis, ferroque necari?

Lib. II. Sat. 7.

The above uncontroubled power of inflicting puniſhments on their Slaves, enjoyed by Maſters in Rome, was at laſt abuſed by them to the greateſt degree. The ſmalleſt faults committed in their families by Slaves, ſuch as breaking glaſſes, ſeaſoning diſhes too much, or the like, expoſed them to grievous puniſhments; and it even was no unuſual thing for Maſters (as we may judge from the deſcription of *Trimalcion's* entertainment in the Satire of Petronius) to order ſuch of their Slaves as had been guilty of faults of the above kind, to be ſtripped, and whipped in the preſence of their gueſts, when they happened to entertain any at their houſes.

Women in particular ſeem to have abuſed this power of flagellation in a ſtrange manner; which cauſed expreſs proviſions to be made, at different times, in order to reſtrain them; of which the Canon above-quoted is an inſtance. It was often ſufficient, to induce the Roman Ladies to cauſe their Slaves to be whipped, that they were diſſatisfied with the preſent ſtate of their own charms; or, as Juvenal expreſſes it, that their noſe diſpleaſed them: and when they happened to fancy themſelves neglected by their huſbands, then indeed their Slaves fared badly. This latter obſervation of Juvenal, Dryden, in his tranſlation of that Author's Satires, has expreſſed by the following lines:

'For, if over night the huſband has been ſlack,
'Or counterfeited ſleep, or turn'd his back,
'Next day, be ſure, the ſervants go to wrack.'

Here follows the literal tranſlation of the paſſage of Juvenal, in which he deſcribes in a very lively manner, the havock which an incenſed Woman uſually made on the above occaſion. "If "her huſband has, the night before, turned his "back on her, woe to her waiting Woman; "the dreſſing Maids lay down their tunicks; "the errand Slave is charged with having return-

" ed too late; the ſtraps break on the back of " ſome; others redden under the laſh of the lea- " ther ſcourge, and others, of the twiſted parch- " ment."

Si nocte maritus
Averſus jacuit, periit Libraria; ponunt
Coſmetæ tunicas; tardè veniſſe Liburnus
Dicitur; hic frangit ferulas; rubet ille flagellis,
Hic ſcuticâ. Juv. Sat. VI.

The wantonneſs of power was carried ſtill farther by the Roman Ladies, if we may credit the ſame Juvenal. It was a cuſtomary thing with ſeveral among them, when they propoſed to have their hair dreſſed both with nicety and expedition, to have the dreſſing Maid who was charged with that care, ſtripped naked to the waiſt, ready for flagellation, in caſe ſhe became guilty of any fault or miſtake, in performing her taſk. The following is the paſſage in Juvenal on that ſubject. " For, " if ſhe has determined to be dreſſed more nicely " than uſual, and is in haſte, being expected in " the public gardens, the unfortunate Pſechas " then dreſſes her head, with her own hair in the " utmoſt diſorder, and her ſhoulders and breaſts " bare. Why is that ringlet too high?—The " leather thongs inſtantly puniſh the crime of a " hair, and an ill-ſhaped curl."

Nam ſi conſtituit ſolitoque decentiùs optat
Ornari & properat, jamque expectatur in hortis,
Componit crinem, laceratis ipſa capillis,
Nuda humeros, Pſecbas infœlix, nudiſque mamillis:
Altior hic quare cicinnus? taurea punit
Continuò flexi crimen, facinuſque capilli.

Theſe abuſes which Maſters, in Rome, made of the power they poſſeſſed over their Slaves, were at laſt carried by them to ſuch a pitch, either by making them wantonly ſuffer death, or torturing them in numberleſs different ways, that, in the beginning of the reign of the Emperors, it was found neceſſary to reſtrain their licence.

Under the reign of Claudius (for it is not clear whether any proviſion to that effect was made under Auguſtus) it was ordained, that Maſters who forſook their Slaves when ſick, ſhould loſe all right over them, in caſe they recovered; and that thoſe who deliberately put them to death, ſhould be baniſhed from Rome.

Under the Emperor Adrian, the cruelties exerciſed by *Umbricia*, a Roman Lady, over her female Slaves, cauſed new laws to be made on that ſubject, as well as the former ones to be put in force, and Umbricia was, by a *reſcript* of the Emperor, baniſhed for five years. *(l. 2. in fine,* Dig. *L. I. t.* 6.)

New laws to the ſame ends were likewiſe made under the following Emperors, among which Ci-

vilians make particular mention of a *conſtitution* of Antonius Pius *(Divus Pius)*; and in ſubſequent times, the Church alſo employed its authority to prevent the like exceſſes, as we may ſee from the Canon above-recited *(Si quæ domina*, &c.) which was framed in the Council held at Elvira, a ſmall Town in Spain, that has been ſince deſtroyed. But the diſorder was of ſuch a nature as was not to be cured ſo long as the cuſtom itſelf of ſlavery was allowed to ſubſiſt; and it has been remedied at laſt, only by the thorough abolition of an uſage which was a continual inſult on Humanity: an advantage which (to be, once at leaſt, very ſerious in the courſe of this learned and uſeful Work) we are indebted for, to the eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity, whatever other evils certain Writers may reproach it with having occaſioned.

CHAP. V.

The subject continued.

THE punishment of flagellation was thought among the Antient Heathens, as we have just seen, to possess great efficacy to mend the morals of persons convicted of offences, and insure the honesty and diligence of Slaves. Nor were Schoolmasters behindhand either with Judges or Masters, in regard to whipping those persons who were subjected to their authority.

Of this we have an undoubted proof in one of the Epistles of Horace; and it moreover appears that he had had, when at school, the bad luck of being himself under the tuition of one who had strong inclination to inflict that kind of chastisement. 'I remember '(says he) that the flogging *Orbilius*, who 'when I was a boy, used to dictate to us the 'verses of Livius Andronicus—.'

* . . . . *Memini quæ plagosum mihi parvo Orbilium dictare.*—Lib. II. Ep. i. v. 70.

Quintilian has alſo mentioned this practice of Schoolmaſters of whipping their Diſciples; and the ſeverity which they uſed, as well as other conſiderations, induced him to diſapprove of it intirely. The following are his expreſſions on that ſubject. 'With reſpect to 'whipping School-boys, though it be an eſta-'bliſhed practice, and Chryſippus is not averſe 'to it, yet I do not in any degree approve it. 'Firſt, it is a baſe and ſlaviſh treatment; and 'certainly if it were not for the youth of thoſe 'who are made to ſuffer, it might be deem-'ed an injury that might call for redreſs. 'Beſides, if a Diſciple is of ſuch a mean 'diſpoſition that he is not mended by cen-'ſures, he will, like a bad Slave, grow equal-'ly inſenſible to blows. Laſtly, if Maſters 'acted as they ought, there would be no oc-'caſion for chaſtiſement; but the negligence 'of Teachers is now ſo great, that, inſtead 'of cauſing their Diſciples to do what they 'ought, they content themſelves with puniſh-'ing them for not having done it. Beſides, 'though you may compel the obedience of a 'Boy, by uſing the rod, what will you do with 'a young Man, to whom motives of a quite 'different nature muſt be propoſed? Not to 'add, that ſeveral dangerous accidents which 'are not fit to be named, may be occaſioned

'either by the fear or the pain attending ſuch 'puniſhments. Indeed, if great care is not 'taken in chooſing Teachers of proper diſ-'poſitions, I am aſhamed to ſay to what de-'gree they will ſometimes abuſe their power 'of laſhing: but I ſhall dwell no longer on 'that ſubject, concerning which the Public 'knows already too much *.'

After theſe diſmal accounts of Diſciples flogged by their Teachers, and of the cruel ſeverity uſed by the latter, the Reader will not certainly be diſpleaſed to read inſtances of Teachers who were flogged by their Diſciples.

A very remarkable inſtance of this kind occurs in the caſe of that Schoolmaſter of the Town of *Falerii*, who is mentioned in the fifth Book of the Decad of Livy. The Town of *Falerii* being beſieged by the Romans, under the command of the Dictator Camillus, a Schoolmaſter in that Town, thinking he would be ſplendidly rewarded for his ſervice, one day led, by treachery, and under pretence of making them take a ſhort walk out of the

* . . . . "*Jam ſi minor in diligendis cuſtodum & præceptorum moribus fuit cura, pudet dicere in qua proba nefandi homines iſto jure cædendi abutantur; non morabor in parte hac, nimium eſt quod intelligitur.*"—Inſtitut. Orat. Lib. I. Cap. 3.

gates of the Town, the children of the moſt conſiderable families, who had been entruſted to his care, to the Roman camp, and delivered them up to the Dictator. But the latter, incenſed at his perfidy, ordered him to be ſtripped naked, with his hands tied behind his back, and having ſupplied the children with rods, gave the Schoolmaſter up to them, to drive him back in that condition to their Town *.

Another inſtance of the like kind is alſo to be met with in more modern times. The Tutor's name was *Sadrageſillus*, and his Diſciple was *Dagobert*, ſon of *Clotaire*, King of France, who reigned about the year of Jeſus Chriſt, 526. The tranſaction is related in the

* "*Denudari deindè Ludi-magiſtrum juſſit, eumque pueris tradidit reducendum Falerios, manibus poſt tergum illigatis; virgas quoque eis dedit, quibus proditorem agerent in urbem verberantes.*"

The inhabitants of *Falerii* were ſo ſtruck with the juſt conduct of the Dictator (Livy adds) that a total change of their diſpoſitions towards the Romans was the conſequence; and the Senate having been aſſembled thereupon by the Magiſtrates, they came to the reſolution of opening their gates, and ſurrendering to the Romans; which was ſoon after effected.

following manner by *Robert Gaguin*, in his Hiſtory of France. 'Dagobert (ſays he) 'having received from his Father a Tutor 'who was to inſtruct him in the worldly ſci-'ences, and whom the King had made Duke 'of Aquitain, the young Man, who did not 'want parts for one of his years, ſoon per-'ceived that *Sadrageſillus* (ſuch was the Pe-'dagogue's name) was much elated with 'pride on account of his newly-acquired dig-'nity, ſo that he began to fail in the reſpect 'he owed to him, and grew remiſs in the 'diſcharge of his duty. The Prince having 'once invited him to dine with him, and Sa-'drageſillus having not only placed himſelf 'at table oppoſite the Prince, but alſo offered 'to take the cup from him as if he had been 'his companion, the Prince ordered him to 'be ſoundly whipped with rods, and cauſed 'his beard, which he wore very long, to be 'cut off.' The above fact is alſo related by *Tilly*, Scrivener of the Parliament of Paris, in his *Chronicles* of the Kings of France.

In fine, to the paſſages above-produced concerning the Flagellations of Children, from which we find that very great men have much differed in their opinions in regard to them, we may add, that King Solomon, that

Oracle of Wiſdom, has, without reſerve, declared in favour of that mode of correction. 'He that ſpareth the rod, hateth his ſon; 'but he that loves him, chaſtiſes him be-'times.' The Greek Philoſopher Chryſippus has afterwards manifeſted the ſame opinion. And Petrarch, who may be called here a modern Author, has alſo adopted the opinion of King Solomon; and, notwithſtanding Quintilian's arguments on the ſubject, has ſided with the antient Moraliſt and Sage: "Correct your ſon (ſays Petrarch) in his "tender years, nor ſpare the rod: a branch, "when young, may eaſily be bent at your "pleaſure *."

* From the above-mentioned paſſages of king Solomon, Livy, and other antient authors, down to Petrarch, we may ſafely conclude that the practice of flagellating children has been followed in the world during a number of ſucceſſive centuries; and we know from undoubted authorities, that the ſame practice continues in our days to prevail, eſpecially among Schoolmaſters. Nay more, very reſpectable Writers inform us, that Schoolmaſters ſtill poſſeſs the ſame ſtrong inclination to exert their authority that way, as they did in the times of Horace and Quintilian.

Thus, Mr. *Henry Fielding*, a Writer who, better than moſt others, knew the manners of Men, in his *Hiſtory of a Foundling*, repreſents *Thwackum* the Schoolmaſter, as having, upon every occaſion, recourſe to his rod, and deſcribes him to us as a true ſucceſſor of the *plagoſus Orbilius*.

Mr. Gay, another writer, who, too, was deeply verſed in the knowledge of Mankind, expreſſes himſelf with ſtill more preciſion on that head, and lays it down as an undoubted maxim, that the delight of a Schoolmaſter is to uſe his whip. The opinion of that Author on the ſubject is contained in a ſong written by him: this ſong was compoſed in honour of *Molly Mog*, an Innkeeper's daughter, at Oakingham in Berkſhire: the verſes are fifteen in all; and the name of *Molly Mog* is to be found in each of them, with a rhyme to it.

The School-boy's deſire is a play-day,
The Schoolmaſter's joy is to flog,
The milk-maid's delights are on May-day;
But mine are in ſweet Molly Mog.

However, the reſearches of our Author on the preſent deep ſubject, as well as mine in my humble capacity of Commentator, can bear no compariſon, I think, in point of ſagaciouſneſs, with the diſcovery made by Thomas Perez, the Uncle

of Diego, who relates his own hiſtory in the third volume of the Adventures of Gil Blas, and who takes that occaſion to mention the great abilities of his Uncle as an Antiquary. "If it had not "been for him (ſays he) we ſhould ſtill be igno- "rant that children, in Athens, cried when their "Mothers whipped them."

CHAP. VI.

Flagellations of a religious and voluntary kind were practiſed among the ancient Heathens.

WE have hitherto only treated of involuntary Flagellations, and ſuch as were in all caſes inflicted by force on thoſe who ſuffered them. But beſides Flagellations of this kind, there were others of a voluntary ſort among the Heathens, to which thoſe who underwent them, freely and willingly ſubmitted, and which may indeed create our ſurpriſe in a much greater degree than the former.

Thus, at Lacedæmon, there was a celebrated Feſtival, which was kept annually, and was named the *Day of Flagellations*, on account of the ceremony that was performed in it, of whipping before the altar of Diana a number of Boys, who freely ſubmitted to that painful treatment; and this Feſtival has been mentioned by a great number of Authors.

Plutarch, for inſtance, in his Book of the *Cuſtoms of the Lacedæmonians*, relates, that

he had been an eye-witneſs of the celebration of the ſolemnity we ſpeak of. 'Boys (ſays 'he) are whipped for a whole day, often to 'death, before the altar of Diana the Or-'thian; and they ſuffer it with chearfulneſs, 'and even joy: nay, they ſtrive with each 'other for victory; and he who bears up the 'longeſt time, and has been able to endure 'the greateſt number of ſtripes, carries the 'day. This ſolemnity is called *The Conteſt* '(or race) *of Flagellations*; and is celebrated 'every year.'

Cicero, in his Tuſculana, has alſo mentioned this cuſtom of the Lacedæmonians. 'Boys (ſays he) at Sparta are laſhed before 'the Altar in ſo ſevere a manner, that the 'blood iſſues from their body. While I was 'there, I ſeveral times heard it ſaid that Boys 'had been whipped to death; none of whom 'ever uttered the leaſt complaint, or ſo much 'as groaned.' And in another place Cicero likewiſe ſays, 'Boys, at Sparta, utter no 'complaint, though lacerated by repeated 'laſhes.' Nay more; Mozonius, in *Stobæus*, relates that the Spartan Boys were rather pleaſed with theſe flagellating ſolemnities. 'The ſons of the Lacedæmonians make it 'very evident (ſays Mozonius) that ſtripes do 'not appear to them either ſhameful or hard

'to be borne, ſince they allow themſelves to 'be whipped in public, and take a pride 'in it.'

The Scholiaſt or Commentator of Thucydides relates the ſame things of the Lacedæmonian young men; and ſays that thoſe among them who could bear the greateſt number of laſhes, acquired much glory by it. 'And 'indeed (ſays he) the *Flagellations* are per-'formed at particular times during a certain 'number of days; and thoſe who receive the 'greateſt number of ſtripes, are accounted 'the moſt manly.'

The Parents of the young men who were thus publickly whipped, were commonly preſent during the performance of the ceremony; and ſo far were they from diſcouraging their Sons from going through it, that, as Lucian relates, they deemed it a ſhameful piece of cowardice in them, if they ſeemed to yield to the violence of the laſhes, and in conſequence of this notion they exhorted them to go ſtoutly through the whole trial. 'Indeed (conti-'nues Lucian) a number of them frequently 'died in the *conflict*, thinking it was unwor-'thy of them, ſo long as they continued to 'live, to yield to blows and bodily pain, in 'ſight of their friends and relations.' 'And 'to thoſe who die upon thoſe occaſions, Sta-

'tues, as you will ſee, are erected at Sparta, 'in the public places."

Seneca, in his Treatiſe upon *Providence*, has alſo mentioned thoſe ſingular *Flagellations* which took place at Lacedæmon, as well as the conduct of the Lacedæmonian Fathers on thoſe occaſions. 'Do not you think (ſays 'he) that the Lacedæmonians hate their chil-'dren, who try their tempers by having them 'laſhed publickly? Their very Fathers ex-'hort them firmly to bear the laſhes of the 'whips; and intreat them, when torn to 'pieces and half dead, ſtill to continue to of-'fer their wounds to other wounds.'

In fine, with ſo much ſolemnity were the flagellating ceremonies and trials we mention performed, that a Prieſteſs, as Silenus of Chios relates, conſtantly preſided over them, holding up a ſmall ſtatue of the Goddeſs in her hand while the young Men were laſhed; and, to crown all, Prieſts were eſtabliſhed to inſpect the ſtripes and marks of the blows, and draw omens from them. 'I am witneſs '(ſays Lucian) that there are Prieſts appoint-'ed to inſpect the laſhes and ſtripes *.' To

* Pag. 1002. Litt. C. μαντικὸς ἦν μαρτύρομαι δὲ, ἢ μὴν καὶ ἱερέας αὐτῷ ἀποδειχθήσεσθαι μαστίγων ἢ καυτηρίων.

this it may be added, that these extraordinary ceremonies of the Lacedæmonians, which are here described, were preserved among them, notwithstanding the numerous revolutions which their Republic underwent, to very late times; and Tertullian mentions them as continuing, in his days, to be regularly celebrated every year. 'For (says that Author) 'the Festival of *The Flagellations* is still in 'these days looked upon as a very great so-'lemnity at Lacedæmon. Every body knows 'in what Temple all the young Men of the 'best families are lashed in the presence of 'their Relations and friends, who exhort 'them to bear to the last this cruel ceremony *.'

Even Philosophers among the Greeks, I mean particular sects of them, had adopted the practice of voluntary Flagellation. Lucian relates in one of his Dialogues, that there were Philosophers in his time, 'who trained 'young Men to endure labour, pain, and 'want; and who made the practice of virtue 'consist in these austerities. A number of

* *Pag.* 158. *Edit. Rig. Namque hodiè apud Lacedæmonas solemnitas maxima est* διαμαστίγωσις, *id est, flagellatio. Non latet in quo Sacro ante aram nobiles quique adolescentes flagellis afficiantur, adstantibus parentibus atque propinquis, & uti perseverarint adhortantibus.*

'them would bind themſelves; others whip-
'ped themſelves; and thoſe who were the
'moſt tender, ſtead their outer ſkin with in-
'ſtruments of iron made for that purpoſe.'

However, auſterities of this kind were only practiſed by particular Sects of Philoſophers, as hath been above obſerved; and the generality of them were ſo far from adopting ſuch practices, that a great many ridiculed them. Of this we have an inſtance in the Book of the *Life of Apollonius Tyanæus*, written by Philoſtrates. In this Book, Apollonius is ſaid to have ſpoken in the following manner to *Theſpeſion*. 'Flagellations are practiſed
'before the altar of Diana Scythia, becauſe
'the Oracles have ordered it ſo; now, I think
'that it would be folly to reſiſt the will of the
'Gods. If ſo (Theſpeſion anſwers) you
'ſhew, O Apollonius, that the Gods of the
'Greeks poſſeſs but little wiſdom, ſince they
'preſcribe to Men who think they are free, to
'laſh themſelves with whips.'

Nor was the practice of thoſe Flagellations to which the perſons who underwent them willingly ſubmitted, confined to the Nations of Greece; but the ſame had alſo been adopted in other Countries. It obtained among the Thracians, as we find in Artemidorus. 'The young Men of noble fami-

'lies among the Thracians (says that Author) 'are on certain occasions cruelly lashed.'

Voluntary Flagellations were also in use among the Egyptians. It even seems that this practice took its origin among them; and they used them as a method of atoning for their sins, and appeasing the incensed Deity. Herodotus has left us an account of the manner in which they commonly performed their flagellations, in the account he has given of the Festival which they celebrated in honour of the great Goddess. 'After preparing 'themselves by fasting (he says) they begin 'to offer Sacrifices, and they mutually beat 'each other during the time that the offerings 'are burning on the Altar: this done, the 'viands which remain after the sacrifice is 'accomplished, are placed upon tables before 'those who compose the Assembly.'

The same Herodotus says on another occasion, 'I have already related in what manner 'the Festival of Isis is celebrated in the city 'of Busiris. While the Sacrifice is performing, the whole Assembly, amounting to several thousands of both Men and Women, 'beat one another.' To this Herodotus adds, that 'he is not allowed to mention the reason 'why those beatings were performed *.'

* In Euterpe, Lib. II. Cap. 42. pag. 113. Ἐφ' ὅτῳ δὲ τύπτονται, ὃ μοι ὅσιόν ἐστι λέγειν.

Among the Syrians, we likewiſe find that the uſe of voluntary Flagellations had been adopted; and their Prieſts practiſed them upon themſelves with aſtoniſhing ſeverity. Apuleius, in his *Metamorphoſis* of the Golden Aſs, relates the manner in which theſe Prieſts both made inciſions in their own fleſh, and laſhed themſelves voluntarily.

'In fine, they diſſect their own arms with 'two-edged knives, which they uſe conſtantly 'to carry about them. In the mean while, 'one of them begins to rave and ſigh, and 'ſeems to draw his breath from his very 'bowels. He at laſt feigns to fall into a 'kind of phrenetic fit, pretending that he is 'replete with the ſpirit of the Goddeſs; as 'if the preſence of the Gods ought not to 'make Men better, inſtead of rendering them 'diſordered and weak. But now, behold 'what kind of favour the Divine Will is go-'ing to beſtow upon him. He begins to vo-'ciferate, and, by purpoſely contrived lies, 'to upbraid and accuſe himſelf in the ſame 'manner as if he had been guilty of having 'entertained bad deſigns againſt the myſteries 'of their holy Religion. He then proceeds 'to award a ſentence of puniſhment againſt 'himſelf; and at the ſame time graſping his 'ſcourge, an inſtrument which thoſe Prieſts

'conſtantly wear about them, and which is 'made of twiſted woollen cords armed with 'ſmall bones, he laſhes himſelf with repeated 'blows; all the while manifeſting a wonder-'ful, though affected firmneſs, notwithſtand-'ing the violence and number of the ſtripes.' From all that is above related, it is pretty evident that thoſe Syrian Prieſts uſed (or ſeemed to uſe) themſelves, in this cruel manner, only with a view to raiſe admiration in the minds of weak and ſuperſtitious perſons by this extraordinary affectation of ſuperior ſanctity, and thereby to cheat them out of their money. At leaſt this is the conjecture made by Philippus Beroaldus, in his Commentaries on the *Metamorphoſis* of the Golden Aſs, who ſays, that thoſe Prieſts were no better than Jugglers, or rather Cheats, who only aimed at catching the money of the Fools who gazed at them *.

* Whether thoſe Prieſts whipped themſelves in earneſt, or only made a feint ſo to do, as Beroaldus ſuſpects, is difficult to determine; but with reſpect to the inciſions which they pretended to make in their own fleſh, there is juſt ground to think that they only impoſed upon their ſpectators, ſince a law was made by the Emperor Commodus, which Dr. Middleton has quoted in his *Letter from Rome*, by which it was ordered that

Nay, the opinion of the merit of voluntary or religious Flagellations, was in antient times grown so universal, that we find them to have also been practised among the Romans, who had adopted notions on that subject of the same kind with those of the Syrians and the Egyptians, and thought that the Gods were, upon particular occasions, to be appeased by using scourges and whips. An instance of this notion or practice is to be met with in the Satyricon of Petronius, in which *Encolpus* relates, that, being upon the sea, the people of the ship flagellated him, in order, as they thought, to prevent a storm. 'It was resolved (he says) among the Mariners, to give us each forty stripes, in order to appease the tutelar Deity of the ship. No time accordingly is lost; the furious Mariners set upon us with cords in their hands, and endeavour to appease the Deity by the effusion of the meanest blood: as to me, I received three lashes, which I endured with Spartan magnanimity *.'

those Priests should be made really to suffer the amputations which they pretended they made on themselves. *Bellonæ fervientes brachia verè exsecare præcepit.* Lamprid. in Com.

* "*Itaque ut Tutela navis expiaretur, placuit*

But the moſt curious inſtance of religious Flagellations, among the Romans, and indeed

quadragenas utrique plagas imponi. Nulla ergo fit mora; aggrediuntur nos furentes nautæ cum funibus, tentantque viliſſimo ſanguine Tutelam placare; & ego quidem tres plagas Spartanâ nobilitate conzoxi."—Pet. Arb. Sat. L. II.——The Story, as it is to be found in Petronius, is this. *Encolpus* and *Giton* had embarked, unawares, on the ſhip of one *Lycas*, to whom Encolpus had formerly given offence; and on board the ſame ſhip was alſo a Lady named *Tryphena*, who owed a grudge to Giton, by whom ſhe thought ſhe had on a former occaſion been ſlighted. Encolpus and Giton no ſooner diſcovered in whoſe ſhip they were, than they were afraid of being ill-uſed, and attempted to diſguiſe themſelves in the dreſs of Slaves, and for that purpoſe cut off their hair; a thing which (though they did not know it) was the worſt of omens during a voyage, as it never was done but in a ſtorm, in order to make offerings to the incenſed Deities of the ſea. Somebody ſpied Encolpus and Giton while they were performing the above operation; the rumour of ſuch a nefarious act, in fair weather, ſoon ſpread about the ſhip, and the crew thereupon uſed our two paſſengers in the manner above related. Encolpus (as himſelf ſays) bore the three firſt blows with great magnanimity;

among all other Nations, is that of the ceremony which the Romans called *Lupercalia*; a ceremony which was performed in honour of the God Pan, and had been contrived in Arcadia, where it was in uſe ſo early as the times of King Evander, and whence it was afterwards brought over to Italy. In this Feſtival, a number of Men uſed to dance naked, as Virgil informs us: 'Here (ſays he) the 'dancing *Salii*, and naked *Luperci**.' And Servius, in his Commentary upon this verſe of Virgil, explains to us who theſe *Luperci*

but Giton, who was of a more tender frame, ſcreamed ſo loud at the firſt blow, that Tryphena heard him, knew his voice, ran upon the deck, and inſtead of being moved by the ſight of his nakedneſs, inſiſted upon the whole number of blows being given him: other paſſengers then took the part of the two culprits; which brought on a battle between them and the crew: at laſt the affair was compromiſed, and Encolpus and Giton were releaſed. As for the latter, a Maid ſlave found means afterwards to fit him with a wig, and paſte falſe eyebrows to his forehead, which made him appear as charming as ever, and Tryphena's favour was reſtored to him.

* "*Hic exultantes Salios nudoſque Lupercos.*" Æn. Lib. III.

were. They were (he ſays) Men who, upon particular ſolemnities, uſed to ſtrip themſelves ſtark naked; in this ſituation they ran about the ſtreets, carrying ſtraps of leather in their hands, with which they ſtruck the Women they met in their way. Nor did thoſe Women run away from them; on the contrary, they willingly preſented the palms of their hands to them, in order to receive their blows; imagining, through a ſuperſtitious notion received among the Romans, that theſe blows, whether applied to their hands or to their belly, had the power of rendering them fruitful, or procuring them an eaſy delivery.

The ſame facts are alſo alluded to, by Juvenal, who ſays in his ſecond Satire, 'Nor 'is it of any ſervice to her, to offer the palms 'of her hands to a nimble *Lupercus* *.' And the antient Scholiaſt on Juvenal obſerves on this verſe, that barren Women, in Rome, uſed to throw themſelves into the way of the *Luperci* when become furious, and were beaten by them with ſtraps †.

Other Authors, beſides thoſe above, have mentioned this feſtival of the Lupercalia.

* "*Nec prodeſt agili palmas præbere Luperco.*" Juv. Sat. II.

† "*Steriles mulieres februantibus Lupercis ſe offerebant, & ferulâ verberabantur.*"

Among others, *Feſtus*, in his Book on the *Signification of words*, informs us, that the *Luperci* were alſo ſometimes called *Crepi*, on account of the kind of noiſe *(crepitus)* which they made with their ſtraps, when they ſtruck the Women with them: 'For it is a cuſtom 'among the Romans (continues the ſame Au-'thor) for Men to run about naked during 'the feſtival of the Lupercalia, and to ſtrike 'all the Women they meet, with *ſtraps*.'

Prudentius, I find, has alſo mentioned the ſame feſtival in his Roman Martyr: 'What is 'the meaning (ſays he) of this ſhameful ce-'remony? By thus running about the ſtreets 'under the ſhape of Luperci, you ſhow that 'you are perſons of low condition. Would 'you not deem a Man to be the meaneſt of 'Slaves, who would run naked about the 'public ſtreets, and amuſe himſelf with ſtrik-'ing the young Women *?'

* From the above ſentiments delivered by Prudentius, we might be induced to think that only perſons of low condition, in Rome, or even Slaves alone, uſed to *run*, in the feſtival of the Lupercalia; yet this does not ſeem to have been the caſe, and the lines of Prudentius appear to have contained more declamation than real truth.

The *Luperci* were in very early times formed

All the Flagellations we have abovementioned were performed in public Solemnities,

into two bands, which were called by the names of the moſt diſtinguiſhed families in Rome, *Quintiliani* and *Fabiani*; and to theſe was afterwards added a third band, called *Juliani*, from J. Cæſar's name. Marc Antony, as every one knows, did not ſcruple to *run* as one of the *Luperci*, having once harangued the people in that condition: and if he was afterwards inveighed againſt, on that account, by ſeveral perſons, and among others by Cicero, his perſonal enemy, it was owing to his being Conſul, when he thus ran among the *Luperci*: a thing which, it was ſaid, had never been done by any Conſul before him.

The feſtival in queſtion (which may ſurpriſe the Reader) continued to be celebrated ſo late as the year 496, long after the eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity; and perſons of noble families not only continued to run among the *Luperci*, but a great improvement was moreover made about thoſe times in the ceremony; the Ladies, no longer contented with being ſlapt on the palms of their hands, as formerly, began to ſtrip themſelves naked, in order both to give a fuller ſcope to the *Lupercus* to diſplay the vigour and agility of his arm, and enjoy, themſelves, the entertainment of a more compleat flagellation. The whole cere-

or with religious views of ſome kind or other; but there were other inſtances of voluntary ſuſtigations (as we learn from the ancient Authors) in which thoſe who performed them were actuated by no ſuch laudable motives; or at leaſt, had no preciſe intention that has been made known to us. Such were the Flagellations mentioned by St. Jerom, in his Obſervations on the Epitaph of the Widow *Marcella*. In theſe Obſervations St. Jerom informs us, that there were Men in Rome ſilly enough to lay their poſteriors bare in the public Markets, or open Streets, and to ſuffer themſelves

mony being thus brought to that degree of perfection, was ſo well reliſhed by all parties, that it continued to ſubſiſt (as has juſt now been obſerved) long after the other ceremonies of Paganiſm were aboliſhed; and when Pope Gelaſius at laſt put an end to it, he met with a ſtrong oppoſition from all orders of Men, Senators as well as others. The general diſcontent became even ſo great, that the Pope, after he had carried his point, was obliged to write his own Apology, which Baronius has preſerved: one of his arguments, among others, was drawn from the above practice of the Ladies, of ſtripping themſelves naked in public in order to be laſhed.—*Apud illos, nobiles ipſi currebant, & matronæ nudato corpore vapulabant.*

to be laſhed by a pretended Conjuror. 'It 'is no wonder (ſays he) that a falſe Diviner 'laſhes the buttocks of thoſe blockheads in 'the middle of the Streets, and in the Mar-'ket-place *.'

And theſe Conjurors not only laſhed the perſons who deſired them to do ſo, but they, at other times, would alſo laſh themſelves, as we learn from Plautus, though an early Writer; for thoſe Flagellations we mention were, it ſeems, an old practice among the vulgar in Rome. 'Pray, is it not (ſays an Actor in 'one of this Author's Plays) is it not the Con-'juror who laſhes himſelf †?'

Another proof of the practice of thoſe both active and paſſive flagellations which prevailed among the People in Rome, is alſo to be drawn from the above-mentioned Book of Feſtus, on the *Signification of words*. Feſtus, explaining in that Book the ſignification of

* "*Nec mirum ſit, in plateis & foro rerum venalium, fictus Ario us ſtultorum verbe et nates.*" Lib. II. adv. Juv. Cap. XIX. & Lib. I. Apolog. adv. Auſtin. Cap. IV.—*Reverà. non* nates, *ſed* nares (ſubjungit Author noſter) *legendum eſtimaverunt Eraſmus & M. V. Reatinus; ſed ex Codicibus Manuſcriptis*, nares *in* nates, *denuò emendaverunt Græevius, & doctiſſimus Jeſuita H. Roſweidus.*

† *Nùm obſecro, num Ariolus qui ipſus ſe verberat?*

the word *Flagratores*, says, that this word signified 'those who allowed themselves to be 'whipped for money.' And M. Dacier, a person of consummate learning in all that relates to Antiquity, says, in his Notes on the above Author, that the word *Flagratores* signified likewise 'those who whipped others:' he adds, that this was the more common acceptation of the word *.

Besides the flagellations just mentioned, which perhaps were also owing to some superstitious notion or other in those persons who practised them, we find, in antient Authors, instances of lashings and whippings performed in a way perfectly jocular, and as a kind of innocent pastime. None is more remarkable than that which is related by Lucian of the Philosopher Peregrinus. This Peregrinus (Lucian observes) was a Cynic Philosopher of a very impudent dispositon. He lived in the time of the Emperor Trajan: after having embraced the Christian Religion, he returned to his former Sect: and then used frequently to lash himself in public in rather an indecent manner. 'Surrounded by a croud of Spec-'tators, he handled his *pudendum* (αἰδοῖον)

* *Immò potius ii videntur fuisse qui flagris cædebant.*

'which he exhibited as a thing, he ſaid, of 'no value. He afterwards both gave himſelf, 'and received from the Byſtanders, laſhes up-'on his poſteriors, and performed a number 'of other juvenile tricks equally ſurprizing 'as theſe.'

We alſo find in Suetonius another inſtance of ſportive laſhings or flappings among the Ancients; and theſe, too, practiſed upon no leſs a perſon than a Roman Emperor. The Emperor here alluded to, was the Emperor Claudius. 'When he happened (ſays Sueto-'nius) to fall aſleep after his dinner, which 'was a cuſtomary thing with him, they threw 'ſtones of olives or of dates at him, in order 'to awaken him; or ſometimes the Court 'Buffoons would rouſe him, by ſtriking him, 'in a jocular way, with a ſtrap or a ſcourge *.'

In fine, I ſhall conclude this Chapter with an inſtance of voluntary flagellation among the Ancients, which was not only free either from the ſuperſtition or wantonneſs above-mention-ed, but was moreover produced by rational, and, we may ſay, laudable motives. The in-ſtance I mean, is that of the flagellations

* "*Quoties poſt cibum obdormiſceret, quod ei fere quotidiè accidebat, olearum & palmularum oſſibus in-ceſſebatur: interdùm ferulâ flagrove velut per ludum excitabatur à Copreis.*"

beſtowed upon himſelf by a certain Philoſopher, mentioned by Suidas. The Philoſopher's name was *Superanus:* he was a Diſciple of Laſcaris; though paſt the age of thirty years, he had taken a ſtrong reſolution of applying himſelf to Science, and began at that time to read the works of the moſt famous Orators. So earneſt was he in his deſign of ſucceeding in thoſe ſtudies which he had undertaken, that 'he never grudged himſelf 'either the rod or ſharp lectures, in order to 'learn all that Schoolmaſters and Tutors 'teach their Pupils. He even was more than 'once ſeen, in the public Baths, to inflict upon himſelf the ſevereſt corrections *.'

* This *Superanus*, who conſidered whipping as a neceſſary circumſtance to make a complete education, has been followed in that opinion by no leſs a man than the celebrated Loyola, the Founder of the Order of the Jeſuits. Ignatius of Loyola, after having led a military life, took it into his head, though paſt thirty years of age, to begin his ſtudies; and in order to render his courſe of learning as complete as poſſible, he inſiſted, on a certain occaſion, on the Maſter inflicting the correction of the School upon him, in the preſence of

all the Boys. Some Writers have advanced, that Loyola was thirty-three years old, when he underwent the above flagellation; while others ſay, he was thirty-ſeven. On the other hand, certain Proteſtant Authors, in order to rob the Saint of the praiſe of humility he acquired on that occaſion, pretend, that when he deſired to undergo the above correction, he knew that the Profeſſor had, of himſelf, reſolved to inflict it upon him. The queſtion is alſo examined in *Bayle's* Dictionary, whether Ignatius of Loyola was ſerved in the manner above-recited, at Bayonne, or in the *Montaigu* School, at Paris.

Moliere, in his *Bourgeois Gentilhomme*, introduces juſt ſuch another character as Superanus and Loyola. M. Jourdain, though a Man of a middle age, and without education, takes it into his head to be on a ſudden a learned Man and a fine Gentleman: and in conſequence of this fancy, fills his houſe with Fencing Maſters, Dancing Maſters, Maſters of Muſic, Maſters of Philoſophy, and Maſters of every kind. His Wife and Maid Servant, being very angry to ſee their apartments full of duſt, and their floors covered with dirt, take him to taſk on that account, and the Wife, who is a ſort of blunt, vulgar Woman, among other peeviſh expreſſions of her diſpleaſure, aſks him, "Do you mean, at your age, to get yourſelf whipped, one of theſe days?"—To

which Mr. Jourdain, like a true *Superanus*, anſwers, " Why not? Would to God I were whipped this very inſtant before all the world, and knew what is to be learnt at School."

Madame JOURDAIN.

N' irez vous point un de ces jours vous faire donner le fouët, à votre âge?

M. JOURDAIN.

Pourquoi non? Plût à Dieu d'avoir tout à l'heure le fouèt, devant tout le monde, & ſavoir ce qu'on apprend au Collège.

From the extenſive uſe of flagellations that took place among the antient Heathens, the Abbé Boileau ten or twelve times draws the concluſion in different parts of his Book, that the firſt Chriſtians held that mode of puniſhment in deteſtation, and never adopted it for themſelves. However, the other Catholic Divines are very far from admitting this concluſion, nor by any means grant that, becauſe certain practices were adopted by the antient Heathens, it follows that the firſt Chriſtians abſtained from them. They, on the contrary, ſay that the Abbé himſelf ought to know, that Chriſtians have imitated ſeveral ceremonies of the Pagans, which they have ſanctified by the intentions with which they perform them; and on this ſubject they quote Polydore Vergil, who remarks, that the cuſtom adopted by Prelates, of giving the outſide of their hand to be kiſſed, when

they officiate in their Pontifical dreſſes, the cuſtom of making prayers for the dead on the ſeventh day after their burial, the offering of pictures to thoſe Saints by whoſe aſſiſtance dangers have been eſcaped, &c. &c. are practices derived from the Heathens.

They moreover add, that even the Temples of the Pagans have been converted by Chriſtians, to their own uſe; and on this occaſion they alledge, among other inſtances, that of Pope Gregory the Great, who wrote to St. Auguſtin, Apoſtle of England (or rather to Melitus, with an injunction to inform the Apoſtle) that he muſt not demoliſh the temples of the idols in the above kingdom, but that he ought to preſerve thoſe which are well built *(benè conſtructa)*, and after purifying them with holy water, and by placing relicks, appropriate them to the uſe of the Church.

CHAP. VII.

Containing the moſt ingenious arguments of the Abbé Boileau. The practice of ſcourging one's-ſelf was unknown to the firſt Fathers of the Church; and alſo to the firſt Anchorites, or Hermits.

FLAGELLATIONS of different kinds being univerſally practiſed among the Heathens, this circumſtance muſt needs have given but little encouragement to the firſt Chriſtians, to imitate ſuch mode of correction; and we may take it for granted that they had not adopted it. Indeed, we find that no mention is made of it in the writings of the firſt, either Greek or Latin Fathers; for inſtance, in the Epiſtles of St. Ignatius, the Apologies of Juſtinius, the Apoſtolic Canons, the Conſtitutions attributed to Clement the Roman, the works of Origen, the *Stromats* of Clement of Alexandria, and all the works in general of Euſebius of Cæſarea, of St. Chryſoſtom, of St. Baſil, and of St. Baſil of Seleucia. In all the above Authors, no mention, I ſay,

is made of flagellations; at leaſt, of thoſe of a voluntary kind; unleſs we are abſolutely to explain in a literal manner paſſages in which they manifeſtly ſpoke in a figurative ſenſe: we may therefore ſafely conclude, that the firſt Chriſtians had no notion of thoſe cruel exerciſes which prevail in our days, and that to flay one's hide with ſcourges or rods, as is in theſe times the practice of numberleſs Devotees, in or out of religious Orders, were practices unknown among them.

So far, indeed, were the firſt Chriſtians from approving the practice of ſelf-flagellations, that they ſeem on the contrary to have entertained a notion, that their very quality of Chriſtians freed them from any kind of flagellation whatever, as we may learn from the inſcription in Latin verſes that had been placed by them upon the column to which Jeſus Chriſt was faſtened when he was whipped: the following is the tranſlation of that inſcription: 'In this Houſe our Lord ſtood bound; 'and, being faſtened to this column, like a 'ſlave, offered his back to the whip. This 'venerable column is ſtill ſtanding, continu- 'ing to ſupport the fabric of the Temple, and 'teaches us to live exempt from every kind 'of flagellation.'

" *Vinctus in his Dominus ſtetit ædibus, atque Cŏlumnæ*
Annexus, tergum dedit ut ſervile flagellis.
Perſtat adhuc, templumque gerit veneranda Columna,
Noſque docet cunctis immunes vivere flagris."

Now, if the firſt Chriſtians had been uſed to inflict daily diſcipline upon themſelves, or to receive it from other perſons, it is altogether improbable that they would have ſaid that they were exempt from every kind of flagellation. The above lines, it may not be amiſs to obſerve, were thought to have been written by Prudentius, who lived about the latter end of the fourth century. Fabricius, in his Edition of the Chriſtian Poets, aſcribes the ſame lines to one Amœnus, who lived in the eighth Century; and, on the other hand, Johannes Siccardus ſays, that Sedulius, who lived under the reign of Theodoſius junior, is the Author of them. Be it as it may, it does not much matter on this occaſion to know who has written them; it is ſufficient to obſerve that they are very uſeful to confirm the aſſertion, as to the novelty of voluntary flagellations *.

* Our Doctor of the Sorbonne and Abbé Boileau (whoſe meaning is here faithfully laid

Arguments have alſo been derived by the promoters of flagellations, from thoſe which

before the reader) ſpeaks with much confidence of the proofs he derives in ſupport of his opinion, from the above Latin lines, which he adds he thinks he has done *well* and *wiſely* to produce; and I have poſtponed to the end of his argument, to make any remark upon the ſubject, in order to let him enjoy his triumph a little longer. However, his whole reaſoning is no more than a quibble on the ſenſe of the word *flagrum*; which indeed ſignifies a whip, but alſo ſignifies a luſtful paſſion: both come from the verb *flagrare*, to burn; and *flagrare amore*, to burn with love: hence the word *flagrans delictum*, which is ſaid of a Man who is caught in the act of debauching another Man's wife, or as ſome Civilians expreſs it, *alienam Uxorem ſubagitans:* from the above expreſſion the French have made the words *flagrant délit*, which have the ſame meaning; and they ſay of a Man under the above circumſtances, that he is caught *en flagrant délit*. The real meaning of the Latin lines above-quoted, is, therefore, that Chriſtians ought to be free, not from every kind of *flagellation*, but from luſtful paſſions. Thoſe lines, it may be obſerved, together with the quibble contained in them, of which our Author has availed himſelf to ſupport his private opinion, are

Jeſus Chriſt was made to ſuffer, in order to prove that they were practiſed upon themſelves by the firſt Chriſtians. But though it may be a meritorious action to endure whipping with as much patience as Jeſus Chriſt, and for cauſes of the ſame kind as he did, yet it is no proof that the firſt Chriſtians had any thought of expoſing themſelves voluntarily to a puniſhment which had been impoſed upon him by force. Beſides, the firſt Chriſtians could not poſſibly be induced by their deſire of imitating Jeſus Chriſt's whipping (ſuppoſing they really had ſuch deſire) to flagellate themſelves in the cruel manner that has ſince prevailed; for they did not think that the flagellation undergone by our Lord was in a very high degree painful, and they looked upon it as having been but an inconſiderable part of the puniſhment he was made to ſuffer. In fact, St. Chryſoſtom and St. Auſtin, as the Reader may ſee in their works, relate that Pi-

in the ſame taſte with the other productions of Monks, during the times of the *middle age*, and of the general decay of literature, when finding out quibbles and puns, and ſucceeding in compoſing acroſtics, anagrams, and other *difficiles nugæ*, engroſſed the whole ambition of Verſificators: though, to ſay the truth, worſe lines than the above have been written in that kind of ſtyle.

late ordered Jeſus Chriſt to be ſcourged after the manner, not of the Romans, among whom the puniſhment of whipping was inflicted with great ſeverity, but of the Jews, who never ſuffered the number of forty ſtripes to be exceeded. And though the truth in that reſpect has afterwards been better known, yet, it was only in latter times that the diſcovery was made, and that St. Bridget, a holy Nun, by means of a revelation ſhe had on that ſubject, was informed, and thereby enabled to inform the world, that the two holy Fathers were wrong in their opinions, and that Jeſus Chriſt had really been flagellated with great cruelty *.

* Inſtances of revelations, like thoſe of St. Bridget, concerning the perſon of Jeſus Chriſt and his ſufferings, are very frequent among Nuns; and, to ſay the truth, it is no wiſe ſurpriſing that they ſhould, at times, have viſions of this kind. As thoſe Women who are deſtined to live in the condition of Nuns, are commonly, not to ſay always, made to take their vows at an early age, that is, at a time when their paſſions are moſt diſpoſed to be inflamed, and when an object of love may be looked upon as one of the neceſſaries of life, this, together with the circumſtance of their cloſe confinement, induces a number of them to

Beſides thoſe Fathers who have been quoted above, as having made no mention of flagella-

contract a real and ardent love for the perſon of Jeſus Chriſt, whoſe pictures they ſee placed almoſt in every corner, who is, beſides, expreſsly called their Huſband, whoſe Spouſes they are ſaid to be, and to whom, at the final and ſolemn cloſing of their vows, they have been actually betrothed, by having a ring put on their finger. To the mind of ſuch of thoſe unfortunate young Women as have once begun to indulge fancies of this kind, the image of their beloved Spouſe is continually preſent, under ſome one of the figures by which he is repreſented in the above-mentioned pictures; and his flagellations, and other hardſhips he was made to undergo, are, among other things, the objects of their tendereſt concern: hence the numberleſs viſions and revelations which Nuns, like St. Bridget, have at all times had upon thoſe ſubjects: and ſeveral among them, whoſe love was more fervent, or who thought themſelves intitled to ſome particular diſtinction from their Spouſe, have even fancied, on certain occaſions, that they had been favoured with a viſible impreſſion of his ſacred *Stigmats*, that is, of the marks of the five main wounds which he received when he was put to death. The idea of thoſe viſible marks or *Stigmats* of Jeſus

tions in their writings, except in a figurative manner, there are others no leſs commendable for their learning, who have been equally ſilent on that ſubject. St. Jerom, among others, deſerves to have particular notice taken of him; and he once had, we are to obſerve, a very natural opportunity of mentioning voluntary flagellations, if he had had any notion of ſuch a practice. I mean here to ſpeak of the letter he wrote to Deacon Sabinus, in order to admoniſh him of his ſins, and exhort him to repent of them. This Sabinus was a moſt profligate man, who was publicly known to have been guilty of the crime of adultery, and who had, in one inſtance, carried his wickedneſs ſo far as to attempt to raviſh a girl in the very manger in which Jeſus Chriſt had received the adoration of the three Eaſtern Kings. St. Jerom exerts the utmoſt powers of his eloquence in order to bring that

Chriſt's wounds, we may obſerve, was, in the firſt inſtance, a contrivance of St. Francis, who pretended that they had been impreſſed on his body during a viſion he had in a remote place; and he prevailed upon his Monks, and other adherents, to conſider them as emblems of a cloſe affinity between him and our Lord, and as a kind of order of knighthood that had been conferred on him.

man to a ſenſe of his crimes, and engage him to do a ſuitable penance for them, and yet he makes no mention whatever about whipping or diſcipline. Now, is it in any degree credible that he would, on ſuch an occaſion, have been ſilent as to the uſe of whips, leather-thongs, or ſcourges, if they had been commonly in uſe, and avowed by the Church?

The ſupporters of flagellations, however, urge that the ſame St. Jerom, in his Epiſtle to *Euſtachius*, ſays, ſpeaking of himſelf, 'I re-'member to have many a time ſpent the 'whole day in loud lamentations, and to have 'only ceaſed to beat my breaſt when the ad-'monitions of our Lord reſtored tranquillity 'to me.' But this very paſſage, which is made uſe of to prove that voluntary flagellations were in uſe during the times of the primitive Church, manifeſtly proves the contrary, and that St. Jerom was an utter ſtranger to the uſe either of ſcourges or rods. It is true, he lamented, as he ſays, for his ſins, and beat his breaſt, in order to expel by this natural method of venting his grief, the wicked thoughts with which he felt himſelf agitated; but in doing this, he employed, and could employ, only his fiſts: the ſhort diſtance between his arms and his breaſt made it alto-

ther impracticable for him to uſe rods, thongs, ſtraps, ſticks, ſcourges, beſoms, or whips.

Nor is any argument to be drawn from what is related of the ſame St. Jerom, that the Angels once fuſtigated him in the preſence of God, and covered him with ſtripes, becauſe he was fired with an ardent deſire of acquiring the ſtyle and eloquence of Cicero: for it is evident, that this flagellation was impoſed upon him by force, and as an involuntary chaſtiſement. Beſides (which would make it completely unjuſt to draw any inference from this fact) St. Jerom only ſuffered the flagellation in queſtion in a dream, as himſelf with great wiſdom obſerves, in his Apology againſt Ruffinus: 'I was aſleep (ſays he) when I promiſed before the tribunal of God never to 'engage in the ſtudy of worldly letters; ſo 'that the ſacrilege and perjury he charges me 'with, amount to no more than the violation 'of a dream.'

If we peruſe the Hiſtory of the Lives of the ancient Anchorites of the Eaſt, we ſhall find great reaſon to think that they likewiſe were ſtrangers to the practice of ſelf-flagellation. Theodoret, Biſhop of Cyrus, who diſtinguiſhed himſelf ſo honourably in the fifth Council of Chalcedon, has, for inſtance, written the lives of thirty of theſe Solitaries, who

were particularly celebrated on account of the great auſterities and mortifications which they practiſed, and who were afterwards on that account raiſed to the dignities of Prieſts or of Biſhops; and yet, he has made no mention of their uſing either rods or whips, in the numerous and different penances which they performed.

Thus, we are informed in the Book of Theodoret, that St. James of Niſibe (who was afterwards made a Biſhop) had voluntarily deprived himſelf, during his whole life-time, of the uſe of fire. He lay upon the ground; he never wore any woollen clothes, but only uſed goat-ſkins to hide his nakedneſs.

It is related in the ſame book, that St. Julian only ate bread made of millet, and that he abſtained from the uſe of almoſt every kind of drink. St. Martianus never ate but once in a day, and that very ſparingly too; ſo that he continually endured the tortures of hunger and thirſt: this holy Man had, beſides, a Diſciple who never touched either bread or meat.

St. Euſebius uſed to wear an iron chain round his body; his continual faſtings and other kinds of macerations rendered him ſo lean and emaciated, that his girdle would continually ſlide down upon his heels; and

Publius *the elder*, voluntarily ſubmitted to mortifications of the ſame kind.

Simeon only fed upon herbs and roots. St. Theodoſius the Biſhop uſed to wear a hair-cloth around his body, and iron chains at his hands and feet. St. Zeno never reſted upon a bed, nor looked into a Book. Macedonius, during forty years, never uſed any other food than barley, and was not afterwards raiſed to the dignity of Prieſt, but againſt his own conſent. Biſhop Abrahames never taſted bread during the whole time of his being a Biſhop, and carried his mortifications ſo far, as to forbear the uſe of clear water.

The ſame Theodoret, continuing to relate the life of the holy Hermits, ſays, that ſome of them uſed to wear iron ſhoes, and others were conſtantly burdened with cuiraſſes inwardly armed with points. Some would willingly expoſe themſelves to the ſcorching heat of the ſun in ſummer days, and to the nipping cold of winter evenings: and others (continues Theodoret) as it were buried themſelves alive in caverns, or in the bottom of wells; while others made their habitations, and in a manner rooſted, upon the very tops of columns.

Now, among all thoſe numerous and ſingular methods of ſelf-mortification which Theo-

doret deſcribes as having been conſtantly practiſed by the above-named holy Hermits, we do not find, as hath been above obſerved, any mention made of flagellations: methods of doing penance, theſe, which it is hardly credible, Theodoret would have neglected to mention, if thoſe holy Men had employed them *.

* Among thoſe Solitaries who, as is above-mentioned, fixed their habitations upon the tops of columns, particular mention is made of one who was afterwards, on that account, denominated St. Simeon *Stylites*, from the Greek word Στύλος, a column. This St. Simeon Stylites was a native of Syria; and the column upon which he had choſen to fix his habitation, was ſixty cubits high. Numbers of people reſorted to it from all parts, in order to conſult him upon different ſubjects, and he delivered his oracles to them from his exalted manſion. One of his methods of mortifying himſelf was, to make frequent genuflexions; and he made them ſo quickly, it is ſaid, and in ſuch numbers, that a perſon, who one day ſpied him from ſome diſtance, and attempted to count them, grew tired, and left off when he had told two thouſand.

The exiſtence of the above Hermit, as well as of thoſe mentioned by our Author, together with the hard penances to which they ſubmitted, ſeem in general to be facts pretty well aſcertained; and the amazing hardſhips which the *Fakirs* in the Eaſt Indies, ſtill continue in theſe days to impoſe upon themſelves, make the above accounts appear the leſs incredible. However, they have been ſince wonderfully magnified in the Compilations of Lives of Saints, and Hiſtories of miracles; eſpecially in that called the *Golden Legend*, which is the moſt remarkable of all, and was compiled a few Centuries ago by one *Jacobus de Voragine*, and has been ſince tranſlated into ſeveral languages: it is a thick folio book, bound in parchment, which is found at all the Inns in Catholic Countries.

The life of a Hermit ſtill continues to be followed by ſeveral perſons. Thoſe who make profeſſion of it, are Men who, like the firſt Anchorites of the Eaſt, chooſe to live by themſelves, in places more or leſs remote from Towns, without being tied by any vows; they only wear a particular kind of habit, and perform certain religious duties.

Whatever may be the real or affected ſanctity of a few of them, the whole tribe of Hermits, however, have not eſcaped the common misfor-

tune of Friars and Nuns, who have numbers of amorous ſtories circulated on their account; often for no other reaſon, we are charitably to ſuppoſe, than the additional degree of reliſh which they derive from the contraſt between the facts they contain, and the outward life and profeſſions of thoſe of whom they are related. Thus, the celebrated *La Fontaine* has made the contrivance of a certain Hermit, for obtaining poſſeſſion of a young Woman who lived in a neighbouring cottage, the ſubject of one of his *Tales*. And *Poggio* has related another ſtory of an Hermit, which I think worthy of a place here, ſince this book is deſigned no leſs for the entertainment than the information of the Reader.

The Hermit in queſtion lived in the neighbourhood of Florence. He was a great favourite with the Ladies; and the moſt diſtinguiſhed at Court flocked daily to the place of his retreat. The report of the licentious life he led, reached the ears of the Grand Duke, who ordered the Man to be ſeiſed and brought before him: and as it was well known he had been connected with the firſt Ladies at Court, he was commanded by the Secretary of State to declare the names of all the Ladies whoſe favours he had received: when he named three or four, and ſaid there were no more. The Secretary inſiſted upon his telling the whole

truth, and as he was very hard upon him, the Hermit named a few more, assuring that now he had told all. The Secretary then gave him threats, and again insisted with great warmth upon his declaring the names of all the Ladies; when the Hermit, fetching a deep sigh, said, *Well then, Sir, write down your own:* which words confounded the Secretary, and afforded much merriment to the Grand Duke and his Courtiers.

CHAP. VIII.

A few more of the Abbé Boileau's arguments are introduced. It does not appear that self-flagellation made a part of the duties prescribed in the first Monasteries, during the times of the first establishments of that kind. The only positive instances of flagellations suffered by Saints, or the Candidates for that title, in the days we speak of, are those which the Devil has inflicted upon them.

IN the antient Monasteries of Egypt, and of the East, that is to say, in the first regular religious establishments which took place among Christians, it does not seem that self-flagellations were in use, and that they had any notion of those frequent lashings and scourgings with which Monasteries have since resounded.

In fact, we find that that Rule which commonly goes under the name of St. Anthony, who lived about the year 300, and was the very first professor of Monastic Life, is entirely silent on that subject. The same is to be

obſerved of the Rules framed by the Abbot Iſaiah, who lived in much the ſame time as St. Anthony; of thoſe compoſed by the Fathers Serapion, Macarius, Paphnutius, another Macarius, and ſeveral other very antient Rules, framed in the Monaſteries of the Eaſt, which the learned Lucas Holſtenius, Librarian of the Vatican, has publiſhed in his *Code of Rules*.

The Rules of the firſt religious Orders founded in the Weſt, have been likewiſe ſilent as to the voluntary uſe of thongs and whips. The firſt Rule, for inſtance, preſcribed to the Benedictines, that antient Weſtern Order, does not mention a word about ſelf-flagellation: and the ſame ſilence is to be obſerved in the Rules framed by Oviſieſius, Abbot of Tabennæ, by St. Aurelian, Biſhop of Arles, by St. Iſidorus, Biſhop of Sevil, by St. Tetradius, and a number of others, whoſe Rules Holſtenius has likewiſe collected. From thence we may therefore conclude, that Chriſtians, in thoſe times, had no notion of thoſe beatings and ſcourgings which are now ſo prevalent; and that the *upper* and the *lower* diſciplines were alike unknown among them *.

* Concluſions againſt the antiquity of the *upper* and the *lower* diſciplines, are frequent in the Abbé Boileau's book; though I have thought it unne-

The only Author of weight, in the days we ſpeak of, who ſeems to have made any

ceſſary to lay them all before the reader. Againſt the latter kind of diſcipline, he has been particularly zealous; and, beſides his uſual charge of novelty, he has, on one occaſion, taxed it with being a remnant of idolatry and Pagan ſuperſtition. This imputation has much diſpleaſed a French Curate, who wrote an anſwer to him: he thought it reflected on thoſe Saints who practiſed the diſcipline in queſtion, and he animadverted on the Abbé in the following terms. *Quelle plus grande injure peut-on faire aux Saints & aux Saintes qui ſe diſciplinent par en bas, que de dire qu'ils ſont des idolatres & des ſuperſtitieux? . . . Peut on les deshonorer davantage, ces Saints, que d'en parler comme fait M. Boileau?* 'Can a greater inſult be put upon thoſe Saints of 'both Sexes who practiſe the lower diſcipline, 'than ſaying that they are ſuperſtitious perſons 'and idolaters? Is it poſſible to ſhew more diſre-'ſpect to thoſe Saints, than ſpeaking of them as 'Monſ. Boileau does?'

With reſpect to the ſilence of the firſt Monaſtic Rules, concerning voluntary flagellation, it may be obſerved that it has been amply compenſated in ſubſequent ones. The *Carmes* are to diſcipline themſelves twice a week, and the Monks of *Monte Caſſino*, once at leaſt; the *Urſuline* Nuns,

mention of voluntary flagellations being practiſed in the antient Monaſteries, is St. John *Climax*, who, according to ſome accounts, lived in the middle of the fourth, and, according to others, only in the ſixth Century. This Author relates, that, in a certain Monaſtery, 'ſome, among the Monks, watered 'the pavement with their tears; while others, 'who could not ſhed any, *beat* themſelves *.' Several Writers have laid great ſtreſs on that paſſage, and quoted it as an undoubted proof of the antiquity of the practice of voluntary flagellation; yet I will take the liberty to diſſent from their opinion, ſince other Writers have judged that St. John Climax only ſpoke in a figurative manner, and have tranſlated the above paſſage, by ſaying that 'thoſe monks

every Friday; the *Carmelite* Nuns, on Wedneſdays and Fridays; the Nuns of the *Viſitation*, when they pleaſe; the Engliſh *Benedictines*, a greater or leſs number of times, weekly, according to the ſeaſon of the year; the *Celeſtines*, on the eve of every great feſtival; and the *Capuchin* Friars are to perform a lower diſcipline every morning in the week, &c. &c.

* Οἱ μὲν ἐν ἐκείνοις τὸ ἔδαφος τοῖς δάκρυσιν ἔβρεχον, οἱ δὲ δακρύων ἀπορρέοντες ἑαυτοὺς κατέκοπτον.

'who could not ſhed tears, lamented themſelves *.'

* The above paſſage of St. Climax, like thoſe of David and St. Paul, diſcuſſed in the 2d and 3d Chapters, has cauſed much diſputation between the Aſſertors, and the Oppoſers, of the doctrine of the antiquity of voluntary flagellations. The Abbé Boileau has taken much pains, in his text, to prove that St. John Climax, notwithſtanding the preciſion of the expreſſion he has uſed, only meant to ſpeak in a figurative ſenſe; and he has for that purpoſe produced a number of authorities from different books, and entered into a long grammatical diſſertation on the Greek words uſed by that Saint, in which he at laſt bewilders himſelf, and ſays the very reverſe of what he had promiſed to prove. He has alſo beſtowed ſome pains on different paſſages of other Greek fathers, which are as poſitive as that quoted from St. John Climax; and among others, upon one of St. Cyril, Patriarch of Alexandria, who expreſſes himſelf with great clearneſs, and ſays, he *whips himſelf*, and exhorts his friends to do the ſame.

However, notwithſtanding the great preciſion of the words uſed by the above good Fathers, whether in ſpeaking of themſelves, or of other perſons, we are not perhaps intirely to refuſe to ad-

Regard for truth, however, obliges us to mention one or two inſtances of flagellations, which are to be found in the hiſtory of the antient Eaſtern Anchorites, written by Theodoret, who has been abovementioned; but thoſe inſtances are ſuch, that certainly no argument can be derived from them, to prove that voluntary flagellations were in uſe in the times in which thoſe Anchorites lived.

One of thoſe inſtances is to be found in the life of Abrahames. It is related in it, that the

mit the aſſertions of the Abbé Boileau, that they only ſpoke in a figurative ſenſe. It is not abſolutely impoſſible that the paſſages which are quoted from them, though ever ſo expreſsly mentioning *flagellations*, *beatings*, *and ſcourgings*, were no more, after all, than canting ways of expreſſion, like thoſe commonly uſed by men who affect pretenſions to ſuperior ſanctity; who take every opportunity of magnifying their ſufferings, or thoſe of their friends, though often of an imaginary kind. However, on this important ſubject, I ſhall leave the Reader to determine: I will only obſerve, that the moſt zealous Supporters of ſelf-flagellation confeſs, that the ſame was never ſo much practiſed among the Eaſtern as among the Weſtern Chriſtians, as they had adopted ſeveral other means of ſelf-mortification.

Chriſtian populace having attempted to ſeize the ſheets in which the body of that Saint was wrapped, the lictors drove them back with whips. Now, it is obvious to every one, that the laſhes which theſe lictors beſtowed, to and fro and at random, upon thoſe men who beſet them, were not willingly received by the latter. And the ſame may certainly with equal truth be obſerved of the flagellations inflicted upon the people (which is the ſecond inſtance mentioned by Theodoret) by the Collectors of the public Tributes, who, he ſays, uſed to collect them with ſcourges and whips *.

* Sir Robert Walpole's Exciſe Scheme made a wonderful noiſe in this Nation; but we may ſafely ſuppoſe, that if flagellations, like thoſe above-mentioned, had been made part of the project, the noiſe would have been ſtill greater.

A fact, ſupplied by the Abbé Boileau himſelf, will be introduced in a ſubſequent Chapter, from which it appears, that Theodoret was not unacquainted with the practice of ſelf-flagellation. The ſilence of that Author on the ſubject, in certain parts of his writings, only ſhews that that practice was not yet become, in his time, that ſettled method of atoning for paſt ſins, which has been ſince adopted, and that a ſcourge had not yet been made a neceſſary part of the furniture of Devotees.

To thoſe inſtances of involuntary flagellations, during the times of the Eaſtern Anchorites, and the firſt Monks, we may, I think, ſafely add thoſe which the Devil, jealous of their merit, has inflicted upon them: a caſe which has frequently happened, if we are to credit the Writers of thoſe times.

In the life of St. Anthony, which was written by St. Athanaſius, we read that that Saint was frequently ſet upon, and laſhed in his cell, by the Infernal Spirit.

St. Hilarion was alſo often expoſed to the ſame misfortune; as we are informed by St. Jerom, who wrote an account of his life. 'This wanton Gladiator (ſays St. Jerom, 'ſpeaking of the Devil) beſtrides him, beating his ſides with his heels, and his head 'with a ſcourge *.'

A great many other Saints, which it would be too tedious to mention, have been expoſed to the like treatment; and the prieſt Grimlaïcus, the Author of an antient Monaſtic Rule, obſerves that Devils will often inſolently lay hold of Men, and laſh them, in the ſame manner as they uſed to ſerve the bleſſed Anthony.

That the above-mentioned inſtances of the wantonneſs of the Devil, with reſpect to

* *Inſidet dorſo ejus feſtivus Gladiator, & latera calcibus, cervicem flagello verberans.*

Saints, were not willingly ſubmitted to by the latter, needs not, I think, to be ſupported by any proof: it muſt certainly have been with great reluctance, that they felt themſelves expoſed to the laſh of ſo formidable a Flagellator *.

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* Inſtances of flagellations beſtowed by the Devil, occur frequently in the Books in which the Lives of Saints, either antient or modern, are recited; whether it was that thoſe Saints, after having dreamed of ſuch flagellations, fancied they had in reality received them, and ſpoke accordingly, or that they had ſome ſcheme in view, when they made complaints of that kind. St. Francis of *Aſſiſa*, for inſtance, as is related in the Golden Legend, received a dreadful flagellation from the Devil the very firſt night he was in Rome, which cauſed him to leave that place without delay. And, to ſay the truth, it is not at all unlikely that, having met there with a colder reception than he judged his ſanctity intitled him to, he thought proper to decamp immediately, and when he returned to his Convent, told the above ſtory to his Monks.

Among thoſe Saints who received flagellations, or viſits in general, from the Devil, St. Anthony

is however the moſt celebrated. At ſometimes the Devil, as is mentioned above, flagellated him vigorouſly; and at others, employed temptations of quite a different kind, in order to ſeduce him: thus, he aſſumed in one inſtance, the ſhape of a beautiful young Woman, who made all imaginable advances to the Saint: but, happily, all was to no purpoſe. The celebrated Engraver *Calot* has made one of thoſe viſits of the Devil to St. Anthony, the ſubject of one of his Prints, which is inſcribed *The Temptation of St. Anthony*; and he has repreſented in it ſuch a numerous ſwarm of Devils of all ſizes, pouring at once into the Saint's cavern, and exhibiting ſo ſurpriſing a variety of faces, poſtures, and ludicrous weapons, ſuch as ſquirts, bellows, and the like, that this Print may very well be mentioned as an inſtance, among others, of the great fertility of the imagination of that Engraver.

Beſides the perſecutions which St. Anthony ſuffered from the Devil, he has the farther merit of having been the firſt Inſtitutor of the Monaſtic life, ſeveral other Hermits having in his time choſen to aſſemble together, and lived under his direction; and though he has not expreſsly been the Founder of any particular Order, yet it is glory enough for him to have been the Father of the whole family of Friars and Nuns. In more modern times, however, his relicks having been

brought from Egypt to Conſtantinople, and thence transferred to *Dauphiné*, in France, a Church was built on the ſpot where they were depoſited, and a new Order of Friars was a little after eſtabliſhed, who go by the name of Monks of St. Anthony. Theſe Monks form a kind of Order diſtinct from all others; but yet they have no leſs ingenuity than the other Monks for procuring the good of their Convent, as may be judged from the following ſtory, which, I think, I may venture to relate as a concluſion both of this Note, and of the whole Chapter.

The Story I mean, is contained in the Book of the *Apologie pour Hérodote*, which was written about the year 1500 by *Henry Etienne*, on purpoſe to ſhew that thoſe who intirely reject the facts related by Herodotus, on account of their incredibility, treat him with too much ſeverity, ſince a number of facts daily happen, which are altogether as ſurpriſing as thoſe that are found in that Author.

Before relating the ſtory in queſtion, the Reader ought to be informed, that St. Anthony is commonly thought to have a great command over fire, and a power of deſtroying, by flaſhes of that element, thoſe who incur his diſpleaſure: the common people have been led into this belief, by conſtantly ſeeing a fire placed by the ſide of that Saint, in the repreſentations that are made of him; though this fire is placed there for no other reaſon

than becauſe the Saint is thought to have the power of curing the *eryſipelas*, which is alſo called the *ſacred fire (ignis ſacer)*, in the ſame manner as St. Hubert cures the Hydrophoby, St. John the Epilepſy, and other Saints other diſorders. A certain Monk of St. Anthony (to come to our point) who was well acquainted with the above prepoſſeſſion of the vulgar concerning the power of his Saint, uſed on Sundays to preach in public, in different villages within a certain diſtance from his Convent. One day he aſſembled his congregation under a tree on which a magpye had built her neſt, into which he had previouſly found means to convey a ſmall box filled with gunpowder, which he had well ſecured therein; and out of the box hung a long thin match, that was to burn ſlowly, and was hidden among the leaves of the tree. As ſoon as the Monk, or his Aſſiſtant, had touched the match with a lighted coal, he began his ſermon. In the mean while the magpye returned to her neſt; and finding in it a ſtrange body which ſhe could not remove, ſhe fell into a paſſion, and began to ſcratch with her feet, and chatter unmercifully. The Friar affected to hear her without emotion, and continued his ſermon with great compoſure; only he would now and then lift up his eyes towards the top of the tree, as if he wanted to ſee what was the matter. At laſt, when he judged the fire was very near reaching the gun-

powder, he pretended to be quite out of patience, he curſed the magpye, and wiſhed St. Anthony's fire might conſume her, and went on again with his ſermon; but he had ſcarcely pronounced a few periods, when the match on a ſudden produced its effect, and blew up the magpye with her neſt; which miracle wonderfully raiſed the character of the Friar, and proved afterwards very beneficial both to him and his Convent.

CHAP. IX.

Corrections of a flagellatory kind, inflicted by force, were however, though in very early times, the common method of correcting offences of a religious nature; and the power of inflicting them was poſſeſſed alike by Biſhops, and the Heads of Monaſteries *.

IT muſt be confeſſed, however, that though ſelf-flagellations made no part of the rules or ſtatutes belonging to the different monaſtic Orders, founded in thoſe early ages of Chriſtianity, the ſame cannot be ſaid of that method of correction, when impoſed by force

* The whole ſubſtance of the Abbé Boileau's arguments (ſo far as it has been poſſible to make them out) is contained in the three firſt Chapters of this Work, and in thoſe two which precede this: the Author is now to continue the text part of the Book, without any farther proſpect of aſſiſtance from the Abbé's obſervations and directions; except in the laſt Chapter, in which they are once more to meet, and to lay again their wiſe heads together.

upon ſuch Monks as had been guilty of offences, either againſt the diſcipline of the Order, or againſt piety: an extenſive power of inflicting ſuch ſalutary corrections, having, from the earlieſt times, been lodged in the hands of Abbots, and the *Superiors* of Convents.

Nay more, we find that Biſhops, during the very firſt times of Chriſtianity, aſſumed the paternal power we mention, even with regard to perſons who were bound to them by no vow whatever, when they happened to have been guilty either of breaches of piety, or of hereſy. Of this, a remarkable proof may be deduced from the 59th Epiſtle of St. Auguſtin, which he wrote to the Tribune Marcellinus, concerning the *Donatiſts*. St. Auguſtin expreſſes himſelf in the following words: 'Do not recede from that paternal di-'ligence you have manifeſted in your re-'ſearches after offenders; in which you have 'ſucceeded to procure confeſſions of ſuch 'great crimes, not by uſing racks, red-hot 'blades of iron, or flames, but only by the 'application of rods. This is a method of 'coercion which is frequently practiſed by 'Teachers of the fine Arts upon their Pupils, 'by Parents upon their Children; *and often*

'*also by* Bishops *upon those whom they find to* '*have been guilty of offences* *.'

Another proof of this power of flagellation, assumed by Bishops in very early times, may be derived from the account which Cyprianus has given of Cesarius, Bishop of Arles; who says, that that Bishop endeavoured as much as possible, in the exercise of his power, to keep within the bounds of moderation prescribed by the law of Moses. The

* "*Noli perdere paternam diligentiam quam in ipsâ inquisitione servasti, quando tantorum scelerum confessionem cruisti, non extendente equuleo, non sulcantibus ungulis, non urentibus flammis, sed virgarum verberibus. Qui modus coercionis & à magistris artium liberalium, & ab ipsis parentibus, & sæpè etiam in judiciis solet ab Episcopis adhiberi.*"—— This Letter of St. Augustin, addressed to a Man invested both with military and civil power, as the Tribune Marcellinus was, in order to exhort him to employ violence and whipping against those who differed from him in their opinions, is an additional proof of a melancholy truth that has often been noticed; which is, that those who exclaim most bitterly against persecution, when exercised against them, and are the most ready to claim toleration in their own favour, are not always the most willing to grant the same favour to others.

following are Cyprianus's words. 'This holy 'Man took conſtant care, that thoſe who were 'ſubjected to his authority, whether they were 'of a free, or a ſervile condition, when they 'were to be flagellated for ſome offence they 'had committed, ſhould not receive more 'than thirty-nine ſtripes. If any of them, 'however, had been guilty of a grievous 'fault, then indeed he permitted them to be 'again laſhed a few days afterwards, though 'with a ſmaller number of ſtripes.'

From the two paſſages above, we are informed that the power of whipping, poſſeſſed by Biſhops, extended to perſons of every vocation, indiſcriminately; and with much more reaſon may we think that thoſe perſons who made profeſſion of the Eccleſiaſtical Life, were ſubjected to it. In fact, we ſee that even the different dignities which they might poſſeſs in the Church, did not exempt them from having a flagellation inflicted upon them by their Biſhops, when they had been guilty of offences of rather a grievous kind; and Pope St. Gregory the Great moveover recommended to the Biſhops of his time, to make a proper uſe of their authority. In his ſixty-ſixth Epiſtle, he himſelf preſcribes to Biſhop Paſchaſius, the manner in which he ought to chaſtiſe Deacon *Hilary*, who had calum-

niated Deacon *John*. 'Whereas (he ſays) 'guilt ought not to paſs without adequate ſa-'tisfaction, we recommend to Biſhop Paſcha-'ſius to deprive the ſame Deacon Hilary of 'his office, and, after having cauſed him to 'be publickly laſhed, to confine him to ſome 'diſtant place; that the puniſhment inflicted 'upon one, may thus ſerve to the correction 'of many.'

This power of inflicting the brotherly correction of whipping, was alſo poſſeſſed by the Abbots and Priors in all the antient Monaſteries; though, at the ſame time, it was expreſsly provided by the *Rules* of the different Orders, that the ſame ſhould be aſſumed by no other perſons. 'Let no Man, except the 'Abbot, or him to whom he has intruſted 'his authority, preſume to excommunicate, or 'flog, a Brother.'

When the faults committed by Monks were of a grievous kind, the Abbot was not only charged to correct them by means of his diſcretionary power of flagellation; but he was moreover expreſsly directed to exert that power with rigour. In the *Rule* framed by St. *Fructuoſus*, Biſhop of *Braga*, it is ordained with reſpect to a Monk who is convicted of being *a Liar*, *a Thief*, *or a Striker*, 'That 'if, after having been warned by the elder

'Monks, he neglects to mend his manners, 'he shall, on the third time, be exhorted, in 'the presence of all the Brethren, to leave off 'his bad practices. If he still neglects to re-'form, let him be flagellated with the utmost 'severity *.' The above Rule of St. Fructuosus is mentioned by Ecbert, in his Collection of Canons, which, together with the *Councils* of England, has been published by Spelman.

St. Ferreol, Bishop of *Usez*, has framed a Rule for Monks, which, like that above, makes severe provisions against such Monks as are addicted to the practice of thieving. 'With regard to the Monk who stands con-'victed of theft, if we may still call him a 'Monk, he shall be treated like him who is 'guilty of adultery for the second time; let 'him therefore be chastised with the whip, 'and with great rigour too: the same punish-'ment ought to be inflicted upon him as up-'on a fornicator, since it may be justly sus-'pected that his lewdness has induced him to 'commit theft †.'

* Cap. XVI. De mendace, fure, & percussore Monacho . . . . *Si nec sic se emendaverit, flagelletur acerrimè.*

† "*Furti scilicet conscium, si adhuc vocare possu-*

Committing indecencies with other Monks, or with Boys, were offences which the Statutes

mus Monachum, quaſi adulterum ſecundum, flagello ſubdi & magnâ coërceri afflictione jubemus; dantes illi unam cum fornicante ſententiam, quia & ipſe furatus eſt ut luxuriarctur."

It is a little ſurpriſing that repeated adultery is, in the above Rule, expreſsly placed on a level with ſimple fornication. Whether the Framer of this Rule has done ſo purpoſely, and thought that adultery ought to be treated with indulgence, on account of the uncommon temptation he ſuppoſed Men were under to commit it, or has only been very careleſs in his manner of expreſſing himſelf, I ſhall not attempt to diſcuſs. Yet, leſt the Reader ſhould thence be led to entertain too bad an opinion of the tenets and morals of Monks in general, I ſhall obſerve, that all are not in the ſame way of thinking with reſpect to adultery, as the Framer of the above Rule ſeems to have been. As a proof of this, the inſtance, I think, may be produced of that Monk, mentioned in one of the Epigrams of the Poet Rouſſeau, who was a great enemy to that ſin: one day preaching againſt it, he grew ſo warm in his arguments, and took ſo much pains to convince his Congregation of his own abhorrence of it, that at laſt he broke out into the following ſolemn declaration: 'Yea, 'my Brethren, I had rather, for the good of my

of Convents likewiſe directed to be puniſhed by ſevere flagellations; and the above St. Fructuoſus, Biſhop of Braga, ordered that the puniſhment ſhould, in the above caſe, be inflicted publickly. 'If a Monk (it is ſaid 'in his Rule) is uſed to teaze Boys and young 'Men, or is caught in attempting to give 'them kiſſes, or in any other indecent action, 'and the fact be proved by competent wit-'neſſes, let him be publickly whipped *.'

'ſoul, to have to do with ten Maidens every 'month, than in ten years touch one married 'Woman.'

The following is the Epigram of Rouſſeau, which is written in *Marotic* verſes; a kind of jocular ſtyle among the French, which admits of old words and turns of phraſe.

Un Cordelier prêchoit ſur l'adultère,
Et s'échauffoit le Moine en ſon harnois
A démontrer par maint beau commentaire
Que ce péché bleſſoit toutes les loix.
Oui, mes Enfans, dit il, hauſſant la voix,
J'aimerois mieux, pour le bien de mon ame,
Avoir à faire à dix filles par mois
Que de toucher en dix ans, une femme.

* "*Monachus parvulorum & adoleſcentulorum conſectator, vel qui oſculo vel de quâlibet occaſione turpi deprehenſus fuerit inhiare, comprobatâ patenter, per accuſatores veriſſimos, ſive teſtes, causâ, publice verberetur.*"

Refuſing to make proper ſatisfaction to the Abbot for offences committed, or in general perſevering in denying them, were alſo grievous faults in the eye of the firſt Founders, or Reformers, of Monaſtic Orders. In the Rule framed fifty years after that of St. Benedict, in order to improve it, the following direction was contained. 'If the Brothers who have 'been excommunicated for their faults, per-'ſevere ſo far in their pride, as to continue, 'on the ninth hour of the next day, to re-'fuſe to make proper ſatisfaction to the Ab-'bot, let them be confined, even till their 'death, and laſhed with rods.' Nor is the Rule of the abovementioned Biſhop of Braga leſs ſevere againſt thoſe Monks whoſe pride prevents them from making a proper confeſſion of the offences they may have committed. 'To him (it is ſaid in that Rule) who, 'through pride and inclination to argue, con-'tinues to deny his fault, let an additional 'and ſeverer flagellation be imparted.'

The habit of holding wanton diſcourſes, or ſolliciting the Brethren to wickedneſs, was alſo deemed by the Founders of religious Orders to deſerve ſevere flagellations; and St. Pacom ordered in his Rule, which, it was ſaid, had been dictated to him by an Angel, that ſuch as had been guilty of the above faults, and

had been thrice admoniſhed, ſhould be publickly laſhed before the gate of the Convent.

Attempts to eſcape from Monaſteries, were, even in very early times, puniſhed by flagellation. We read in Sozomenius, that St. Macarius of Alexandria, Abbot of Nitria in Thebaid, who had five thouſand Monks under his direction, ordered that chaſtiſement to be inflicted upon thoſe who ſhould attempt to climb over the walls of the Monaſteries. 'If 'any one continues in his wickedneſs, and 'ſays, I can no longer bear to ſtay here, but 'I will pack up my things, and go where 'God will direct me*; let any one of the 'Brothers inform the Prior, and the Prior the 'Abbot, of the fact; let then the Abbot aſ'ſemble the Brothers, and order the offender 'to be brought before them, and chaſtiſed 'with rods.'

The holy Founders of religious Orders have alſo been very ſevere, in their proviſions, againſt ſuch Monks as ſeek for familiarities with the other Sex. In the Rule of the Monaſtery of Agaunus, it was ordained, that, 'If any 'Monk had contracted the bad habit of look'ing on Women with concupiſcence, the Ab-

* . . . . . *Hic ego durare non poſſum, ſed accipiam caſulam, & eam ubi voluerit Dominus.*

'bot ought to be informed of the fact, and 'beſtow upon the Monk a corrective diſci-'pline; and that, if he did not mend his 'manners in conſequence thereof, he ought 'to be expelled from the Society as a ſcabby 'ſheep, leſt he ſhould ruin others by his ex-'ample.' The above Monaſtery had been built by Sigiſmond, King of Burgundy, to the honour of CXX. Martyrs of the Theban Legion, of which St. Maurice was the Commander, under the reign of the Emperor Maximinus.

The above-quoted Rule of St. Fructuoſus, is no leſs ſevere againſt thoſe Monks who ſeek for the Company of Women. In the XVth Chapter, which treats *of the lewd and quarrelſome* *, it is ordered, that, 'if after hav-'ing received proper reprehenſions, they per-'ſiſt in their wicked courſes, they ſhall be 'corrected by repeated laſhings.' And St. Columbanus, who is the firſt who inſtituted the Monaſtic Life in France, and has written a Rule as a ſupplement to that of St. Benedict, alſo expreſſes himſelf with great ſeverity againſt ſuch Monks as are convicted of having barely converſed with a Woman in the abſence of witneſſes; for though there are

* Cap. XV. *De laſcivis & clamoſis.*

faults for which he orders only ſix laſhes to be given, yet, in the caſe here mentioned, he preſcribes two hundred. 'Let the Man who 'has been alone with a Woman, and talked 'familiarly to her, either be kept on bread 'and water for two days, or receive two hun-'dred laſhes *.'

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* "*Qui ſolus cum ſolâ fœminâ ſine perſonis certis loquitur familiariter, maneat ſine cibo, duobus diebus, in pane & aquâ, vel ducentis plagis afficiatur.*"

This Article, in which the Founder of a religious Order expreſsly rates the hardſhip of living upon bread and water for one day, at that of receiving an hundred laſhes, is ſomewhat ſurpriſing. And ſuppoſing the generality of Readers ſhould agree that the loſs of a good dinner has really been over-rated by the good Father, his deciſion on that head, may then ſerve as one proof of that remarkable love of good eating and drinking which prevails among Monks; a diſpoſition with which, to ſay the truth, they have long ago been charged. On this occaſion, I ſhall quote the two following lines in Monkiſh ſtyle, recited by Du Cange in his Gloſſary, in which the love of good cheer is ſaid to be one of the three things that prove the ruin of Monks: theſe lines only men-

tion the *black* Monks; but this has been done, we may ſuppoſe, for the ſake of the meaſure, and their meaning was, no doubt, alſo intended to be applied to the *Grey* and *White*.

*Sunt tria nigr*orum, *quæ vaſtant res Monach*orum, *Renes & ven*ter, *& pocula ſumpta frequen*ter.

Other modern Latin Writers have alſo exerted their wit at the expence of the Clergy: ſome have pretended that the word *Sorbona* (the Sorbonne) comes from *ſorbendo* *; and others have derived the word *Præſbiter* (a Prieſt), from *præ aliis bibens ter* †, &c. &c.

As an inſtance of the love of Monks for entertainments, I ſhall relate the following ſtory, which is extracted from a Monkiſh Book, and may ſerve to give the reader ſome inſight into the manner in which Monks live among themſelves, and the internal polity of their Convents.

A certain Friar, in a Convent of the Benedictine Order, found means to procure, beſides plenty of good wine, a certain number of diſhes extremely nice and well ſeaſoned, ſeveral of which were expreſsly forbidden by the Inſtitutes of the Order; and he invited a ſelect party of Brothers to partake of his fare. As they could not, with any degree of ſafety, carry on the entertainment

* Which ſignifies, to *ſip*, or to *ſwallow*.
† He who drinks three times before the others.

in the cell of any of them, they thought of repairing to one of the cellars of the Houſe; where they hid themſelves in one of thoſe wide and ſhallow tuns (about eight or nine feet in diameter, and three or four deep) which ſerve in the making of wines. The Abbot, in the meanwhile, miſſing ſo many of the Monks from the Convent, went in ſearch of them through all the different apartments: being unable to find them, he at laſt went down into the cellars, and ſoon perceived whereabout they lay: he ſtepped up to the place, and, on a ſudden, made his appearance over the edge of the tun. The Monks were prodigiouſly alarmed at this unexpected appearance of the Abbot; and there was none among them but who would have gladly compromiſed the affair, by giving up his remaining ſhare of the entertainment, and ſubmitting to inſtant diſmiſſion. But the Abbot, contrary to all hope, put on a mild and chearful look: he kindly expoſtulated with the Monks on their having made a ſecret of the affair to him; expreſſed to them the great pleaſure it would have been for him to be one of their party; and added, that he ſhould ſtill be very glad to be admitted to partake of the entertainment. The Monks anſwered, by all means: the Abbot thereupon leaped into the tun; ſat down among them; partook of their excellent wine and well-ſeaſoned

diſhes with the greateſt freedom, in juſt the ſame manner as it is ſaid the late Sir James Lowther would of the dinner of his ſervants in his own kitchen; and, in ſhort, ſpent an hour or two with them in the tun, in the moſt agreeable and convivial manner.

At laſt, the Abbot thought proper to withdraw; and as ſoon as he had taken his leave, ſome of the Monks began to admire his extraordinary condeſcenſion; while the others were not without fears that it foreboded ſome misfortune. Indeed, the latter were in the right; for the Reader muſt not think that the Abbot had acted in the manner above-deſcribed, out of any ſudden temptation he had felt at the ſight of the jollity of the Friars, or of the dainties that compoſed their entertainment: by no means; his deſign had only been, by thus making himſelf guilty along with them, to be the better able to ſhew them afterwards the way to repentance, and thereby derive good from evil. In fact, the next day, a chapter having been ſummoned, the Abbot deſired the Prior to fill his place, while himſelf took his ſeat among the reſt of the Monks. Soon after the Chapter was met, he ſtepped forward into the middle of the Aſſembly, accuſed himſelf of the ſin he had committed the day before, and requeſted that diſcipline might be inflicted upon him. The Prior objected much to a diſcipline being inflicted on the Ab-

bot; but the latter having inſiſted, his requeſt was complied with. The other Monks were at firſt greatly aſtoniſhed; but ſeeing no poſſibility of keeping back on that occaſion, they ſtepped into the middle of the Chapter, and likewiſe confeſſed their ſin; when the Abbot, by means of a proper perſon he had ſelected for that purpoſe, got a luſty diſcipline to be inflicted upon every one of his late fellow-banqueters.

CHAP. X.

Strictneſs of certain Superiors of Convents, in exerting their power of flagellation. The ſame is abuſed by ſeveral of them.

THE Reader has ſeen, in the preceding Chapter, that the puniſhment of flagellation was extended to almoſt every poſſible offence Monks could commit; and the duration of the flagellations was, moreover, left pretty much to the diſcretion of the Abbot, whether in conſequence of the generality of the terms uſed in the Statutes, or through ſome expreſs proviſion made for that purpoſe. In the ancient Conſtitutions of the Monaſtery of Cluny, for inſtance, which St. Udalric has collected in one volume, ſeveral kinds of offence are mentioned, for the puniſhment of which it is expreſsly ſaid, that the Offender ſhall be laſhed *as long as the Abbot ſhall think meet.*

That Abbots and Priors have at all times well known how to exert thoſe diſcretionary

and flagellatory powers we mention, there is no manner of doubt. On this occaſion, the two following ſtories may be related.

The firſt is that of the diſcipline which the Prior of a certain Monaſtery, who lived in the times of Charles Martel (A. 750) inflicted on ſome Carpenters who were employed by him in the ſervice of the Convent, and who having too careleſsly marked the proper ſize of a certain piece of timber, with their ſtring rubbed with chalk, made afterwards a miſtake in ſawing it. The fact, as it is recited in the life of St. Pardulph, is as follows.

'One *Liframnus*, the then Prior of the 'Monaſtery, reſolved to build a few wooden 'ſteps, in the Chapel of St. Albinus the Martyr. After the Carpenters had meaſured 'the place on which thoſe ſteps were to be 'raiſed, he took them to the wood, where 'they accordingly cut a beam, which they 'loaded upon a Cart, and conveyed to the 'Convent; but when they attempted to ſettle it upon the proper ſpot, it was found to 'be eighteen inches too ſhort. The Prior, 'amazed at ſuch a groſs miſtake, fell into a 'paſſion, and ordered *diſciplines* to be inflicted 'upon the Carpenters *.'

* . . . *Tum Præpoſitus multum ſcandalizans, &*

The other fact I mean to relate, to prove the great ſtrictneſs of certain Eccleſiaſtical Su-

iracundiæ furore ſuccenſus, eiſdem Carpentariis diſciplinam corporis imponi juſſit.

Aulus Gellius, in his *Noctes Atticæ*, relates a fact which bears much reſemblance to the above; though, indeed, much greater Men were concerned in it, than the Prior of a Convent, and Carpenters: the one was a Roman Conſul, and the other, the Engineer of a Town, allied to the Republick.

The name of the Conſul in queſtion was P. Craſſus, who muſt not, however, be miſtaken for the celebrated M. Craſſus, the partner in power with Pompey and Cæſar; though both lived in the ſame times. This Conſul P. Craſſus, having been intruſted with the conduct of the war that was then carrying on in Aſia, laid ſiege to the Town of Leucas; and wanting a ſtrong beam of oak to make a battering-ram, he recollected he had lately ſeen at Elæa, a Town allied to the Romans, juſt ſuch a piece of timber as he wiſhed to have: he therefore wrote to the Magiſtrates of that place, to requeſt them to ſend it to him. The Magiſtrates accordingly directed their Engineer to convey the beam to Craſſus; but as there was another in the yards belonging to the Town, which, the Engineer thought, would be fitter for the uſe

periors in exerting their power of flagellation, is contained in the Book written by *Thomas de*

Craſſus wanted to put it to, he made choice of the latter, and conveyed it to the Roman camp. However, the Engineer had been miſtaken in his calculations, and the beam unfortunately proved too ſmall; which the Conſul did no ſooner perceive, and that his orders had been neglected, than, like the above-mentioned Prior, he fell into a paſſion, and ordered the Engineer to be ſtript, and ſoundly laſhed.

Some apology, however, may be made in favour of the action of the Roman Conſul. As himſelf obſerved upon the ſpot, the whole buſineſs of war would be at an end, if thoſe whoſe duty it is to obey, were permitted to canvaſs the orders which they receive, and to ſet aſide what part they pleaſe: beſides that an allowance ſhould be made for Men of a military life, and who are inveſted with military command; and ſome little indulgence, I think, ought to be ſhewn them, when they happen to inflict flagellations ſomewhat cavalierly. But as to the above holy Prior, who had made ſo many vows of obedience, humility, forbearance, and the like, it is not, indeed, quite ſo eaſy a taſk to excuſe him: I ſhall not, therefore, undertake it; and I will content myſelf with obſerving, how advantageous it would

Chantpré. 'There was (that Author ſays) in 'the Church of Rheims, a very able Dean, 'an Engliſhman by birth *(genere Anglicano)*, 'who, as I have been informed by ſeveral 'perſons who knew him, uſed ſtoutly to cor-'rect his brother Canons for their faults. It 'happened in his time, that the venerable Al-'bert, Biſhop of Liege, and Brother to the 'Duke of Brabant, was driven out of Ger-'many by the Emperor Henry, and treache-'rouſly ſlain by a few Soldiers of that Em-

have been both for the above Engineer and Carpenters, in the perplexing ſituations in which they were reſpectively placed, to have poſſeſſed a power of the ſame kind as that which the Golden Legend (or perhaps ſome other Book of equal merit) ſuppoſes Jeſus Chriſt to have exerted on a ſimilar occaſion. Joſeph, as it is related, who had the care of the infant Jeſus truſted to him, tried to bring him up to his own trade of a Carpenter; and one day, finding that the Boy had ſawed a piece of wood ſhorter than the meaſure he had preſcribed, he ran up to him, full of anger, with a ſtick raiſed in his hand, in order to chaſtiſe him; but the arch apprentice, who was beginning to be conſcious of his power of working miracles, on a ſudden exerted it, and lengthened the piece of wood to its proper ſize.

'peror, near the City of Rheims. On the 'day appointed to celebrate his funeral, the 'venerable Rothard, who, though he was ſtill 'Archdeacon of Rheims, had lately been 'elected Biſhop of Châlons in *Champagne*, 'made his appearance, accompanied by a 'number of noble perſons, without being 'clothed in his Canonical gown. After the 'ceremony was concluded, the Dean called all 'the Canons together, and among them the 'above Biſhop. As ſoon as they were ſeated, 'the Dean ſaid to the Prelate, You have not, 'as far as I know, reſigned yet your Canon-'ſhip, or Archdeaconſhip? The latter made 'anſwer, he had not. Well then, ſaid the 'Dean, come and make ſatisfaction to the 'Church, and prepare your back for a diſci-'pline in the preſence of the Brothers, for 'your having been at the choir without the 'nuptial-robe. The Biſhop-elect made no 'objection: he roſe from his ſeat, ſtripped 'himſelf, and received a moſt vigorous diſci-'pline from the Dean: this done, he put on 'again his clothes, and, before the whole con-'gregation, ſaid to the Dean in a moſt grace-'ful manner, I give thanks to God, and to 'his bleſſed Mother, the Patroneſs of the

'Church of Rheims, that I leave it under the 'government of ſuch a perſon as you *.'

Indeed ſo far have a number of Abbots, or Superiors of Convents, been from ſuffering their power of flagellation to lay dormant and uſeleſs, that they, on the contrary, have abuſed it to a great degree. Oviſieſius cautioned them, in very early days, againſt being guilty of ſuch a fault. Nay, certain Heads of Monaſteries have gone ſuch lengths in that reſpect, that Ceſarius, Biſhop of Arles, was obliged to remind them, that, 'if they inflicted 'flagellations continued too long upon Of-'fenders, ſo that they died in conſequence 'thereof, they were guilty of homicide.'

Among thoſe Abbots who have diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their ſeverity, St. Romuald may be mentioned, who, as we are informed in his Life written by Cardinal Damianus, was once expoſed to a calumny of the blackeſt kind, from a Monk whom he uſed to ſcourge with great ſeverity: nay, that holy Man's

* . . . . . *Nec mora, veſtes exuit Electus, & Decani validiſſimam diſciplinam accepit: quâ acceptâ, veſtibus reindutus, Decano cum maximâ oris gratiâ coram omnibus dixit; gratias ago Deo, & Patronæ Remenſis Eccleſiæ ejus piiſſimæ genitrici, quod te talem in regimine relinquo.* Lib. II. Cap. XXXIX. Num. 20.

Monks, as we are alſo informed by Cardinal Damianus, in one inſtance roſe againſt him, flogged him without mercy, and drove him out of the Convent. This Saint, beſides, had before been frequently laſhed by the Devil *.

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* The arbitrary power of inflicting flagellations, poſſeſſed by Abbots, ought, one ſhould think, to inſure them in a high degree the veneration of their Monks; yet, from the manner in which St. Romuald is aboveſaid to have been uſed by thoſe under his government, we may conclude the caſe is otherwiſe.

A farther proof of the great freedom with which Monks uſe their Abbots, is to be derived from what Monſ. Richelet ſays, in his well-known Dictionary of the French language, that Monks never trouble their heads about waiting for their Abbot, when he comes too late to dinner. Monſ. Richelet informs us of this fact under the word *Abbé*, when he explains the origin of the French common ſaying, *on l'attend comme les Moines font l'Abbé* (they wait for him, as Monks do for their Abbot), which is ſaid jocularly of a perſon who is not at all waited for: this ſaying is derived, the above Gentleman obſerves, from the remarkable

expedition with which Monks ſit down to their dinner, as ſoon as the bell ſtrikes, without caring whether the Abbot is come or not.

This ſingular piece of neglect on the part of Monks, towards a perſon inveſted with ſuch formidable prerogatives as thoſe abovementioned, may be accounted for, different ways. In the firſt place, ſince Monks are ſo celebrated for their love of good dinners, and even entertain ſuch high notions of the value of a plentiful table, as to have rated the hardſhip of living upon bread and water, at that of receiving a hundred laſhes a day, we may naturally ſuppoſe, that, when their meſs is ſerved upon the table, their attention is ſo agreeably engaged by the preſence of that object, that they preſently run to it, wholly regardleſs of any trifling flagellation that may afterward be the conſequence of ſuch expedition.

The ſame neglectful conduct of Monks towards their Abbot, though he is poſſeſſed of ſuch a deſpotic power over them, may alſo be explained in another manner: for, the ſubject is deep, and being conſidered in a political light, may admit a number of different interpretations. In general, it may be obſerved, that Monks may eaſily form cloſe combinations among themſelves againſt their Abbots; that as the latter live together with them, within the walls of the ſame Monaſteries, they have it in their power to play them

a thouſand tricks; and that theſe conſiderations are very apt to induce Abbots to make a mild uſe of their authority, at leaſt with reſpect to the greater part of their Monks.

Indeed this latter explanation agrees pretty well with ſeveral facts. It has frequently happened, for inſtance, that Abbots who have uſed their Monks with cruelty, have been made away with, in ſome way or other, within the walls of their Monaſteries. The Abbé Boileau informs us in his Book, that St. Romuald was much maltreated, and at laſt expelled by his Monks; which, no doubt, was owing to the flagellations he inflicted upon them; flagellations which the Abbé alſo mentions, though he does not aſſign the cauſes of them, whether it was becauſe they did not wait for him at dinner, or for ſome other reaſon, but the truth and ſeverity of which we ſhall the more readily believe, if we conſider that the Saint, upon a certain occaſion, as will be related hereafter, flagellated even his own Father. Nay, it is not quite unlikely that thoſe flagellations which the Saint uſed to imagine he received from the hands of the Devil, were the effects of the revenge of his Monks; till at laſt they openly revolted againſt him, and turned him out of the Monaſtery.

Since we are upon the ſubject of St. Romuald, it will not be amiſs to add, that the flagellations which he received both from the Devil, and from

his Monks, were however nothing in compariſon with the danger to which he was once expoſed, on account of his very ſanctity.

The Saint, as is related in the Hiſtory of his Life, was once ſettled in a certain Convent in Catalonia, and was in great reputation for his virtue in the neighbourhood. The report having been ſpread that the holy Man was going to leave the Country, the People began to be afraid that they ſhould thereby be deprived of the poſſeſſion of his relicks, to which they thought they had a fair title, on account of the length of time he had reſided among them; and they formed the ingenious ſcheme of murdering him, in order to ſecure to themſelves the poſſeſſion of his body; but the Saint, having received timely information of the plot, thought proper to decline the honour that was intended for him, and made his eſcape.

CHAP. XI.

Diſciplines of the ſame wholeſome kind have been preſcribed for Novices, and ſuch perſons as are intended to embrace the Eccleſiaſtical Life.

THE framers of Rules and Statutes of religious Orders have alſo extended their attention to the young Men and Novices brought up in Convents; and have ordered flagellations to be inflicted upon them, for the improvement of their morals. In the Rule framed by the holy Fathers Serapion, Macarius, and Paphnutius, which is to be found in the Collection of Holſtenius, it is ordered, 'That if any Novice is found guilty of theft, 'he ſhall be laſhed with rods, and never ad-'mitted to the degree of Clerk.'

St. Pacom, in that Rule which was dictated to him by an Angel, expreſſes himſelf in the following terms: 'Let thoſe Boys who are re-'gardleſs of the evil conſequences of ſin, and 'are ſo imprudent as not to mind the judg-

'ments of Heaven, in caſe admonitions prove 'uſeleſs, be whipped till they have the fear 'of God.'

In the Rule of St. Benedict, Art. LXX. flagellations are preſcribed as excellent methods of improving the minds of ſuch Boys as are brought up to the Eccleſiaſtic life; and are more particularly recommended to be uſed till they are fifteen years of age.

St. Iſidorus, archbiſhop of Seville, obſerves, that Boys ought not to be excommunicated for their ſins, but that this awful mode of correction ought to be ſupplied, with them, by flagellations.

At the ſame time, leſt thoſe who were to inſpect the conduct of the Novices, ſhould ſuffer themſelves to be influenced by paſſion, in the flagellations they were directed to inflict, an expreſs proviſion was made in the Rule of St. Benedict, that ſuch Teachers as ſhould be guilty of the above fault, ſhould themſelves receive a ſound flogging *.

* A certain modern Latin Author, whoſe name I have forgot, has written a Treatiſe on the antiquity of the practice ſo much recommended above, of whipping boys at School. Had I been ſo happy as to have ſeen his Book, I would have been enabled to make, in this place, learned re-

marks on the ſubject; but as I have not had that advantage, I find myſelf unable to make any, and can only refer the Reader to the diſcovery of Uncle Thomas, as well as to the few other critical annotations that are contained in p. 76, 77, 78, of this Work.

I could have likewiſe wiſhed much to be able to add the names of ſome of thoſe illuſtrious Characters who have diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the practice of flagellating School-boys, to thoſe of the reſpectable Thwackum, and the *plagoſus* Orbilius, mentioned in the above place; but though the Hiſtory of great Schools, in this and other Countries, ſupplies numbers of ſuch names, yet I have not been able to diſcover any of ſufficient eminence to deſerve a place in this Book; except indeed that of the great Doctor *Tempête*, who is mentioned by Rabelais as a celebrated flagellator of School-boys in the *College* of *Montaigu*, in Paris, and which I therefore inſert in this place.

Neither ſhould we neglect to mention here, the name of Buchanan, his pupil having afterwards been a King; and the more ſo, as he uſed, it ſeems, to make the flagellations beſtowed by him on his royal diſciple *(the Anointed of the Lord)* the ſubject of his jokes with the Ladies at Court *.

* King James the Firſt.—See Dr. Berkenhout's *Biographia Literaria.*

The juſtice which is due to the Reverend Fathers Jeſuits, alſo requires that we ſhould, in a Book like this, give an account of the laudable regularity with which they uſed to inflict flagellations upon the young Men who purſued their ſtudies in their Schools, as well as upon ſuch Strangers as were occaſionally recommended to them for that purpoſe. Among the different facts which may ſerve to prove both the ſpirit of juſtice that has conſtantly directed the actions of the Society, and the punctuality of their flagellations, the following is not the leaſt remarkable.

It was, the Reader ought to know, an eſtabliſhed cuſtom in their Schools, to give prizes every year to ſuch Scholars as had made the beſt Latin verſes upon propoſed ſubjects. One year it happened that the ſubject which had been fixed upon, was the Society of the Jeſuits itſelf; and a Scholar took that opportunity, only by quibbling on the names of the two principal Schools belonging to the Fathers, to give them a ſmart ſtroke of ſatire. The name of the one of theſe two Schools, was the School of the Bow *(le College de l'Arc)*, which was ſituated at Dôle, in Franche-Comté; and the other happened to be called, the School of the Arrow *(la Flêche)*, it being ſituated near the Town of that name in Anjou, and was originally a Royal manſion which was given by the Crown to the Society, in the reign of King

Henry the Fourth. The import of the diſtich made by the School-boy (or perhaps by ſomebody elſe for him) was this: "Dôle gave the Bow to the Fathers, mother France gave them the Arrow; who ſhall give them the String which they have deſerved?" The following are the Latin verſes themſelves, which indeed are very beautiful.

Arcum *Dôla dedit Patribus, dedit alma* Sagittam
Gallia; *quis* funem *quem meruere dabit?*

The Reverend Fathers, ſtruck with the merit of theſe lines, and, at the ſame time, unwilling to ſuffer a bon-mot made at their expence, and that was ſo likely to be circulated, to go unpuniſhed, delivered the prize to the boy, and ordered him to be flagellated immediately after.

The celebrated Fathers of St. *Lazare*, in Paris, whoſe School was otherwiſe named the "Seminary of the good Boys" (*des bons enfans*) have no leſs recommended themſelves by the regularity of the diſciplines they inflicted, than the Reverend Fathers Jeſuits. They were even ſuperior to the latter, in regard to thoſe *recommendatory* flagellations mentioned above, which were adminiſtered to ſuch perſons as were, by ſome means or other, induced to deliver letters to the Fathers for that purpoſe. Being ſituated in the metropolis, the Seminary carried on, a very extenſive buſineſs in that way. Fathers or Mothers who had undutiful

Sons, Tutors who had unruly Pupils, Uncles who were intruſted with the education of ungovernable Nephews, Maſters who had wickedly-inclined Apprentices, whom they durſt not themſelves undertake to correct, applied to the Fathers of St. Lazare, and by properly feeing them, had their wiſhes gratified. Indeed the Fathers had found means to ſecure their doors with ſuch good bolts, they were ſo well ſtocked with the neceſſary implements for giving diſciplines, and had ſuch a numerous crew of ſtout *Cuiſtres* to inflict them, that they never failed to execute any job they had engaged to perform, and without minding either age, courage, or ſtrength, were at all times ready to undertake the moſt difficult flagellations. So regular was the trade carried on, by the good Fathers in that branch of Buſineſs, that letters of the above kind directed to them, were literally notes of hand payable on ſight; and provided ſuch notes did but come to hand, whoever the bearer might be, the Fathers were ſure to have them diſcharged with punctuality.

This kind of buſineſs, as it was carried on, for a number of years, frequently gave riſe to accidents, or miſtakes, of rather a ludicrous kind. Young men who had letters to carry to the Houſe of St. Lazare, the contents of which they did not miſtruſt, would often undeſignedly charge other perſons to carry the ſame for them, either on ac-

count of their going to that part of the town, or for ſome other reaſon of a like kind: and the unfortunate bearer, who ſuſpected no harm, had no ſooner delivered the dangerous letter with which he had ſuffered himſelf to be intruſted, than he was collared, and rewarded for his good-nature by a ſevere and unexpected flagellation.

Ladies, it is likewiſe ſaid, who had been forſaken, or otherwiſe ungenteelly uſed, by their Admirers, when every other means of revenge failed, would alſo recur to the miniſtry of the Fathers of St. Lazare. Either by making intereſt with other perſons, or uſing ſome artfully-contrived ſcheme, the provoked Fair-one endeavoured to have the Gentleman who cauſed her grief, inveigled into the Houſe of the Seminary: at the ſame time ſhe took care to have a letter to recommend him, ſent there from ſome unknown quarter, with proper fees in it; for that was a point that muſt not be neglected: and when the Gentleman came afterwards to ſpeak with the Fathers, he was no ſooner found by them, either from the nature of the buſineſs he ſaid he came upon, or other marks, to be the perſon mentioned in the letter they had before received, than they ſhewed him into an adjoining-room, where this treacherous and deceitful Lover was immediately ſeized, maſtered, and every thing in ſhort was performed

that was requiſite to procure ample ſatisfaction to the fair injured Lady.

It is alſo ſaid (for a number of ſtories are related on that ſubject, and the Seminary of St. Lazare was become for a while an object of terror to all Paris) that ſchemes of the moſt abuſive kind were in latter times carried on, through the connivance which the Fathers began to ſhew at the knavery of certain perſons: and this indeed ſeems to be a well-aſcertained part of the ſtory. Abuſes of the ſame kind as thoſe which once prevailed in the Mad-houſes eſtabliſhed in this country, were at laſt practiſed in the Seminary. Men poſſeſſed of eſtates which ſome near relations wanted to enjoy, or whom it was the intereſt of other perſons to keep for a while out of the way, were inveigled into the Houſe of St. Lazare, where they were detained, and large ſums paid monthly for their board. Though they might be full-grown perſons, they were boldly charged with having been naughty, or ſuch-like grievous guilt; and the Fathers, in order to ſhew that they meant to act a perfectly honeſt part in the affair, ordered them to be flagellated with more than common regularity.

Nor was it of any ſervice for the unfortunate boarders to expoſtulate with the Fathers, to inſiſt that it was unlawful to detain them by force in a

ſtrange houſe, and uſe them in the manner they were uſed, that they had important affairs which they muſt go and ſettle, that they were no boys, after all, or to offer other equally pertinent arguments: the Fathers continued to be well paid; they cared for no more; and all the complainants got by raiſing objections like theſe, were cold negative anſwers, and freſh flagellations. Abuſes of the kind we mention, came at laſt to the knowledge of the Government, which interpoſed its authority, and the Seminary was aboliſhed.

CHAP. XII.

The ſame diſcretionary power of inflicting diſciplines, has been eſtabliſhed in the Convents of Nuns, and lodged in the hands of the Abbeſſes, and Prioreſſes.

NOR have the holy Founders of religious Orders conſidered flagellations as being leſs uſeful in the Convents of Women, than in thoſe of Men; and in the Rules they have framed for them, they have accordingly ordered that kind of correction to be inflicted upon thoſe whoſe bad conduct made it neceſſary.

This chaſtiſement of flagellation, upon Women who make profeſſion of a religious life, is no new thing in the world. It was the chaſtiſement appropriated to the Veſtals, in antient Rome; and we find in the Hiſtorians, that when faults had been committed by them in the diſcharge of their functions, it was commonly inflicted upon them by the hands of the Prieſts, or ſometimes of the Great Prieſt himſelf.

Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus relates, that the Virgin Urbinia was laſhed by the Prieſts, and led in proceſſion through the Town.

The High-prieſt, Publius Licinius, ordered, as we read in Valerius Maximus, 'that a 'certain Veſtal who had ſuffered the ſacred 'fire to be extinguiſhed, ſhould be laſhed and 'diſmiſſed.'

Julius likewiſe relates, 'that the fire in the 'Temple of Veſta, having happened to be 'extinguiſhed, the Virgin was whipped by 'the High-prieſt, M. Æmilius, and promiſed 'never to offend again in the ſame manner.' And Feſtus ſays in his Book, that 'whenever 'the fire of Veſta came to be extinguiſhed, 'the Virgins were laſhed by the Great Prieſt.'

Severities of the like kind have been deemed neceſſary to be introduced into the Convents of modern Nuns, by the holy Fathers who have framed religious Rules for them.

In that very antient Rule for the conduct of Nuns, which is contained in Epiſtle CIX. of St. Auguſtin, the mortification of diſcipline is preſcribed to the Prioreſs herſelf. 'Let her '(it is ſaid in the above Rule) be ever ready 'to receive diſcipline, but never impoſe it but 'with fear *.'

* Num. XII. "*Diſciplinam lubens habeat, metuens imponat.*"

Ceſarius, Archbiſhop of Arles, in the Rule framed by him, which is mentioned with praiſe by ſeveral antient Authors, ſuch as Gennadius, and Gregory of Tours, preſcribes the diſcipline of flagellation to be inflicted upon Nuns who have been guilty of faults; and enters, beſides, into ſeveral particulars about the propriety as well as uſefulneſs of this method of correction. 'It is juſt (he ſays) that 'ſuch as have violated the inſtitutions con-'tained in the Rule, ſhould receive an ade-'quate diſcipline: it is fit that in them ſhould 'be accompliſhed what the Holy Ghoſt has 'in former times preſcribed through Solomon. '*He who loves his Child, frequently applies the 'rod to it.*'

St. Donat, Archbiſhop of Bezancon, in the Rule he has framed for Nuns, has expreſſed the ſame paternal diſpoſition towards them, as Archbiſhop Ceſarius has done: he recommends flagellations as excellent methods of mending the morals of ſuch of them as are wickedly inclined, or careleſs in performing their religious duties; and he determines the different kinds of faults for which the above correction ought to be beſtowed upon them, as well as the number of the blows that are to be inflicted. The above Rule of St. Donat

has been mentioned with much praiſe by the Monk Jonas, in his Account of the Life of St. Columbanus, which the venerable Beda has inſerted in the third volume of his Works.

In that Rule, commonly called the *Rule of a Father*, which St. Benedict, Biſhop of Aniana, in his Book *on the Concordance of Rules*, and Smaragdus, in his Commentaries on the Rule of St. Benedict, have both mentioned, proviſions of the ſame kind as thoſe above, are made for the correction of Nuns. 'If a 'Siſter (it is ſaid in that Rule) that has been 'ſeveral times admoniſhed, will not mend her 'conduct, let her be excommunicated for a 'while, in proportion to the degree of her 'fault: if this kind of correction proves uſe-'leſs, let her then be chaſtiſed by ſtripes.'

Striking a Siſter, has likewiſe been looked upon as an offence of a grievous kind; and St. Aurelian, in the Rule he has framed for Nuns, orders a diſcipline to be inflicted on ſuch as have been guilty of it.

To the above regulations, Archbiſhop Ceſarius has added another, which is, that the corrections ought, for the ſake of example, to be inflicted in the preſence of all the Siſters. 'Let alſo the diſcipline be beſtowed upon 'them in the preſence of the Congregation,

'conformably to the precept of the Apoſtle, '*Confute Sinners in the preſence of all* *.'

The Abbé Boileau, after the manner of the Learned of former times, has added to his quotations on the flagellations of Veſtals, a ſtring of names of Writers who have alſo occaſionally mentioned that cuſtom; ſuch as *Roſinus* on the Roman Antiquities, *Fortunius Licetus* on the Lamps of the Ancients, *Joſephus Laurens* of Lucca, *Polymathias* in his Diſſertations, and *Jacobus Ghuterius* on the rights of the ancient Pontiffs. Theſe Writers, as far as I can perceive, have neglected to inform us of an important circumſtance, which is, of what kind thoſe *diſciplines* were, that were inflicted upon Veſtals; whether *upper* or *lower* diſciplines. However, they have informed us of a fact about which the Reader, no doubt, particularly wiſhes to be ſatisfied; which is, that a great regard was paid to decency in the above flagellations; and that, as the correction was inflicted in an open place, and by the hands of a Prieſt, the guilty Veſtal was wrapped in a veil during the ceremony.

The flagellations which perſons who live in Convents, are upon different occaſions made to undergo, the obligation they are under, of receiving

ſuch corrections before the whole Brotherhood or Siſterhood, together with the compariſons which the holy Founders of religious Orders have made of them with naughty children, have drawn numerous jeſts upon them; but ſuch jeſts can only come from perſons who have not paid a ſufficient attention to the ſubject.

Politicians inform us, that it is abſolutely neceſſary that, in all States, there ſhould be Powers of different kinds, eſtabliſhed to maintain the general harmony of the whole, and that Legiſlative, Executive, Military, and Judicial Powers, for inſtance, ſhould be formed, and lodged in different hands. Hence we may conclude, that ſome power analogous to theſe, ought to exiſt in every numerous Society either of Men or Women, for the preſervation of good Order, and that it is neceſſary that, in ſuch Societies, a power of flagellation ſhould be lodged ſomewhere.

Nor are we to think that Convents are the only Societies in which ſome authority of this kind takes place. In the Eaſtern Seraglios, for inſtance, Societies which are by no means contemptible, and may very well bear a compariſon with Convents, we are not to doubt, a power of occaſionally inflicting flagellations, exiſts: nay, we are expreſsly informed that Empreſſes themſelves are not always exempt from them. Thus M. de Monteſquieu, in the 26th Chapter of the

Book XIX. of his Spirit of Laws, relates, after the Hiſtorian of Juſtinian the Second, that the Empreſs, Wife of the Emperor, 'was threatened, by the great Eunuch, with that kind of 'chaſtiſement with which children are puniſhed 'at School:' a treatment certainly very ſevere, and from which one ſhould be tempted to judge that Empreſſes, at leaſt, ought to be exempt, if it were not that the advantages of peace and good order are ſuch, as ought to ſuperſede every other conſideration.

In the Palaces of the Weſtern Sovereigns, though they have conſtantly borne a very different appearance either from Convents or Seraglios, we find that diſciplines like thoſe abovementioned were found extremely uſeful about two centuries ago (a time when Men had notions of decorum much ſuperior to ours) and were in conſequence employed as common methods of preſerving good order, without much diſtinction of rank or ſex.

Of the above fact we have a proof, in the misfortune that befel Mademoiſelle de Limeuil, at the Court of France, where ſhe was a Maid of Honour to the Queen, Wife to King Henry II. as we find in the *Mémoires de Brantôme:* for my reſpect for the Reader induces me to offer him only ſuch anecdotes as are ſupported by good authorities. Mademoiſelle de Limeuil, as Brantôme relates, was a very witty handſome young

Lady, extremely ready at her pen, and related to the beſt families in the Kingdom. She was placed at Court in the capacity of Maid of Honour to the Queen; and ſhe had been there but a few months, when ſhe tried her wit at the expence of the Gentlemen and Ladies at Court, and wrote a copy of verſes, or Paſquinade, in which few Characters were ſpared. As theſe verſes were ingeniouſly written, they ſpread very faſt; and people were very curious to know who had compoſed this piece of ſatire: at laſt, it was found out that Mademoiſelle de Limeuil was the Author of it; and as the Queen, beſides being a perſon of a ſerious temper, was grown diſguſted with the great licence of writing that had of late prevailed at Court, and had determined at leaſt to prevent any ſatire, or lampoon, from originating in her own Houſhold, orders were given in conſequence of which Mademoiſelle de Limeuil was rewarded for her verſes by a flagellation; and thoſe young Ladies in the ſuite of the Queen, who had been privy to the compoſition of the Paſquinade, were likewiſe flagellated.

The inſtances of flagellations juſt now related, from which, neither the beauty, nor the birth, nor the rank of the Culprits, nor the brilliancy of their wit, their readineſs at their pen, nor happy turn for Satire, could ſcreen them, clearly ſhew how much flagellations were in eſteem in the times

we ſpeak of, and how much efficacy they were thought to poſſeſs, for inſuring thoſe two great advantages, good order and decorum. There is no doubt therefore, but that they were ſtill more ſtrictly uſed for the improvement of the morals of thoſe ſwarms of unruly young Men, who then filled the Houſes of Kings, or of the Great, and went by the name of Pages. Indeed we find that the Gentlemen, or Equerries, whoſe care it was to ſuperintend their conduct, were inveſted with a very extenſive power of inflicting flagellations; and ſo frequent were the occaſions in which they found it neceſſary to uſe corrections of this kind, that the words *flagellation*, and *Page*, are become as it were eſſentially connected together, and it is almoſt impoſſible to mention the one, without raiſing an idea of the other: I ſhall therefore forbear to relate any inſtances of ſuch corrections; and flagellations of Pages, like thoſe of Schoolboys, are too vulgar flagellations to have a place in this Book.

Nor were diſciplines like thoſe we mention, impoſed only upon thoſe perſons who expreſsly made part either of the Royal or Noble Houſholds, for the edification of which they were inflicted; but wholeſome corrections of the ſame kind were alſo occaſionally beſtowed upon ſuch Strangers as happened to infringe the rules of decorum, or in any other manner, offended againſt

the reſpect that was owing to the Royal or Noble Proprietor of the Houſe.

Of this we have an undeniable proof in the Story of that Reverend Father Jeſuit, who was flagellated at Vienna, as Brantôme relates, by command of a Princeſs of the Auſtrian Houſe, whoſe diſpleaſure he had incurred.

The Princeſs here alluded to, was daughter to the Emperor Maximilian II. She had been formerly married to Charles IX. King of France; and after the death of that Prince, by whom ſhe had had no children, ſhe retired to Vienna in Auſtria. Philip II. King of Spain, having about that time loſt his wife, ſent propoſals of marriage to the Princeſs we mention, who was at the ſame time his Niece; and the Mother of the Princeſs, a Siſter to Philip II. was very preſſing to induce her to accept the above propoſals; which the Princeſs Elizabeth (ſuch was her name) otherwiſe Queen-Dowager of France, perſevered in refuſing. The Empreſs, and the King of Spain, then thought of employing the agency of a Father Jeſuit, a learned ſmooth-tongued Man, who was to perſuade the Princeſs to accept the offers of Philip; but the endeavours of the Father having proved ineffectual, he at laſt deſiſted from importuning the Princeſs any more, and retired. The King of Spain then ſent new letters to the Princeſs concerning the ſame ſubject, and the Jeſuit was ſent

for a second time, and injoined to exert again all his efforts to make the affair succeed. In consequence of these orders, the Jesuit resumed his function; but the Princess, whom Brantome represents as having been a person of much merit, and who certainly must have had some, since she resolutely persevered in refusing to marry that abominable Tyrant, Philip the Second, the Princess, I say, grew much displeased with the importunities of the Jesuit; and at last spoke very harshly to him, and plainly threatened him, if he dared to mention a word more to her on the subject, with an immediate flagellation *(de le faire fouetter en sa cuisine)*.

To the above account Brantôme adds, that some say that the Jesuit having been so imprudent as to renew afterwards his sollicitations, actually received the chastisement he had been threatened with. But though himself is rather inclined to disbelieve the fact, yet he does not, we are to observe, alledge any reasons for so doing, that are drawn, either from the impropriety of flagellations in general, or from the inability he supposes in them to repress bold intrusion, to put a stop to teazing importunities, or to confute captious arguments: by no means; he only says that the Princess in question was of too gentle a temper to have made good her threats to the Jesuit; besides that she generally bore great respect to Men of his cloth.

To the above remarkable inſtances of flagellations performed in the Palaces of the Great, I will add another which is not leſs pregnant with intereſting conſequences. I mean to ſpeak of the Story of that Court Buffoon, who, upon a certain occaſion, was flagellated at the Court of Spain.

The fact is related in the ſame Memoirs of Brantôme, in a Chapter the ſubject of which is, that '*Ladies ought never to be diſreſpectfully ſpoken to, and the ill conſequences thereof.*'

The name of the Buffoon in queſtion was *Legat*, and he ventured once to try his wit upon the Queen herſelf, Wife to Philip II. This Queen, who was a Princeſs of France, and is the ſame whom Philip was afterwards accuſed of having made away with, on account of the love he ſuppoſed between her and his ſon Don Carlos, had taken a particular fancy for two of the Country Houſes belonging to the King; and one day, being in converſation with the Ladies at Court, ſhe mentioned her liking to the two ſeats in queſtion, which were ſituated, the one in the neighbourhood of Madrid, and the other of Valladolid; and expreſſed a wiſh they were ſo near to each other, that ſhe might touch both at once with her feet: ſaying which, ſhe made a motion with her legs, which ſhe opened pretty wide: the Buffoon could not hold his tongue, and made rather a coarſe remark on the ſubject, which Brantôme has

related at length in Spaniſh: the conſequence of which was, that he was inſtantly hurried out of the room, and entertained with a ſound flagellation. It may not, however, be improper to add, that Brantôme tries in ſome degree to excuſe him, at leaſt for thinking as he did; and he concludes with ſaying, that the Queen (whom he had had ſeveral occaſions of ſeeing) was ſo handſome, and ſo civil to all, that there was no want of Men diſpoſed to love her, who were an hundred thouſand times better than the Buffoon *.

All the facts above related, manifeſtly ſhew that flagellations have been frequently uſed in the Palaces both of the Eaſtern Sovereigns, and of the Princes of Europe; that they were employed for the correction of the higheſt as well as the loweſt perſonages, and for the prevention of every kind of fault, from that of meddling in State affairs

* Corrections of a flagellatory kind continue, in theſe days, to be looked upon as excellent expedients for inſuring good order, in the houſes of great people, in Ruſſia, in ſome diſtricts of Germany, and eſpecially in Poland, where moſt of the feudal cuſtoms that prevailed two or three hundred years ago in other parts of Europe, are ſtill in full force: *lower* diſciplines are, in the latter kingdom, the method commonly employed for mending the manners of Servants of both ſexes. A regulation was made, a few years ago, in Poland, as it appeared from the foreign new-papers, with a view to abridge the power aſſumed by Maſters in regard to their Servants.

(which we may ſuppoſe was the fault committed by the Empreſs, though the Hiſtorian of Juſtinian II. ſays nothing about it) down to wanton language and immodeſty: now all theſe conſiderations are wonderfully fit to confute the jeſts which are thrown upon Monks and Nuns, for alſo making flagellations their uſual means of ſelf, or mutual, correction.

It is, however, very important to obſerve, that though we are fully informed of the different ceremonies with which flagellations are impoſed in Convents, we have not the ſame advantage in regard to thoſe which were inflicted in the Palaces of Princes, or Noble Perſonages. We are, for inſtance, told by Authors, by Du Cange among others, in one or two places of his Gloſſary, of the modeſty with which culprits upon whom a correction is to be inflicted in Convents, are to ſtrip off their clothes, and the ſilence which muſt be obſerved by the whole Aſſembly during the operation; unleſs the perſons inveſted with the different dignities in the Convent, chooſe to ſpeak in behalf of the ſufferer, and pray the Abbot, or Abbeſs, to put an end to the flagellation. We are abundantly informed, in different Books, of the various cauſes for which flagellations are to be employed in Monaſteries: and we moreover know that they are to be inflicted in the preſence of the whole Congregation; in the Convents of Men,

by the hands of a vigorous Brother; and in thoſe of Nuns, by thoſe of an elderly moroſe Siſter.

In regard to the corrections of the ſame kind that were ſerved in the Palaces of the Great, we have, I repeat it, no ſuch compleat informations as theſe. Though the inſtances of ſuch corrections are undeniable, we are much in the dark about the different rites and ſolemnities that uſed to accompany them: yet it would be a very intereſting thing to be acquainted with theſe ſeveral circumſtances, and to know, at leaſt, what particular place, in Palaces, was ſet apart for the operations we mention. Concerning this latter object, I will try to offer a few conjectures; for I do not think ſo meanly of my Readers, as to rank them among that claſs of ſhallow readers, who only mind the outward ſuperficies of things.

In the firſt place, I do not think that there was any place ſo expreſsly appropriated for flagellations, in the Palaces we ſpeak of, but that others might occaſionally be uſed for the ſame purpoſe, according to circumſtances. Though Politicians lay it down as aſſured maxims, that puniſhments are to be inflicted for the ſake of example, and that ſuch examples ought to be public, yet, there were ſo great differences between the dignities of the perſonages who were liable to receive corrections of the kind we mention, that they muſt needs have introduced exceptions in favour of ſome of them;

at leaſt with regard to the places of the operations.

Thus, for inſtance, though in the Eaſtern Seraglios they may be fully ſenſible of the truth of the above maxim, and of the expediency of correcting Offenders in the preſence of all, yet, we are not to think, that when the Empreſs herſelf is to receive a flagellation, ſuch correction is ſerved in a place abſolutely public; for inſtance, in the third, otherwiſe the outmoſt, incloſure of the Seraglio, in which a ſwarm of *Icoghlans*, *Boſtangis*, *Capigi-Baſhis*, and other officers of every kind are admitted. Neither is the ceremony performed in the ſecond, or the firſt incloſure of the Seraglio, nor even in any common apartment in the inſide of the Palace, in ſight of a croud of vulgar beauties, who have never been admitted to the honour of the embraces, or even of the preſence of the Monarch. A flagellation ſerved upon a perſonage of ſo much eminence as an Empreſs, is an event ſufficiently important of itſelf, for the bare report of it, to produce all the good effects that are uſually expected from examples of that kind. The only eſſential thing, is to aſcertain ſuch fact: this important point being obtained, every proper regard ought to be ſhewn to the delicacy of the great perſonage who is to receive the correction we mention; and whenever an Empreſs, in the Eaſtern Seraglios, happens to be ſerved with a fla-

gellation, we are to judge that the operation is performed in the Empreſs's own private Chamber, in the preſence of two or three favourite Sultanas.

Nor were prudential conſiderations of the ſame kind, leſs attended to in the Palaces of the Weſtern Princes. When Maids of Honour had the misfortune to draw upon themſelves the correction of a flagellation, we are not to think that the perſons charged with the ſuperintendence of the ceremony, adhered ſo blindly to thoſe maxims which require that examples of this kind ſhould be public, as to have the operation performed in a place literally public and open to all perſons; that they, for inſtance, choſe for the ſcene of the ceremony, that vaſt Yard, or Court, that lay before the Palaces of Kings, and was continually filled with Grooms, Pages, Keepers of Hounds, Huntſmen, and Servants of every denomination, ſome of whom blew the French horn, others the trumpet, and others played on other muſical inſtruments. No, ſuch a place would have been in a high degree improper: nor would any open apartment or office, within the Palace, have been much more ſuitable for the occaſion. The bare report of a flagellation being ſerved upon ſo intereſting a perſon as a Maid of Honour, was ſufficient to produce all the good effects for which ſuch examples are commonly intended: there was no neceſſity rigidly to adhere either to the above-

mentioned maxim, or to the rule laid down by Horace, who ſays, that mens' minds are more ſtrongly affected by ſuch objects as are laid before their eyes, than by thoſe of which they only receive an hearſay information. The report well aſcertained, of ſuch an event, was fully ſufficient to remind a croud of unlucky Pages, and wanton Chambermaids, of their reſpective duties, and engage them in a ſerious examination of their own conduct. All that was neceſſary, was to put ſuch fact beyond a doubt, to prevent its being afterwards queſtioned by ſome, and flatly denied by others: but theſe important ends being attained, there was no juſt reaſon to refuſe to ſhew the greateſt tenderneſs for the delicacy of the Lady who was to receive the above correction; and whenever one or more Maids of Honour, therefore, have been ſo unfortunate as to make it neceſſary that a flagellation ſhould be inflicted upon them, we are to conclude that the operation was performed in a private apartment of the Palace, in which only the other Maids of Honour were admitted, with a few Ladies of the Bedchamber.

In all the above reaſonings, I have only meant to offer my conjectures to the Reader, and have accordingly ſpoken with becoming diffidence. But with reſpect to the flagellations that were inflicted on perſons of inferior rank, or on thoſe Strangers, ſuch as Fathers Jeſuits or others, who had given

a juſt cauſe of diſpleaſure to the Noble Proprietor of the Houſe, I am able to ſpeak with more certainty, and confidently to inform the Reader, that the place appropriated for ſuch corrections, was the Kitchen.

Nor do I found ſuch an aſſertion only upon the conveniency of the place in general, upon its being ſheltered from both ſun and rain, upon its being plentifully ſtocked with the neceſſary implements for ſerving corrections of the kind we mention, or poſſeſſing other advantages of a like nature; but I ground it upon preciſe facts. We ſee, for inſtance, that executions of a ſimilar culinary kind, are expreſsly founded upon the law of this Country, and are the means provided by it for avenging the honour of the Sovereign, when inſulted in his own houſe. Thus, if a Man dares to ſtrike another in the King's *Court*, or within two hundred feet from the Palace Gate (which kind of offence has been always looked upon by Kings as a great piece of inſolence) all the different Officers in the Kitchen are to co-operate in the Man's puniſhment. The Serjeant of the *Wood-yard* is to bring a block of wood to faſten the Culprit's hands to: for the puniſhment is no leſs than to have it cut off. The Yeomen of the *Scullery*, and of the *Poultry*, are likewiſe to concur in the operation in one manner; the Groom of the *Saucery* and the *Maſter Cook* in another; the

Serjeant of the *Ewry*, again in another: even the concurrence of the Serjeant of the *Larder* has been deemed neceſſary, and a proper ſhare has been likewiſe aſſigned him in the ceremony: nay, the chief Officers of the *Cellar* and *Pantry* are alſo ordered to lend their aſſiſtance; and their allotted function is to ſolace the ſufferer, when the ſad operation is over, by offering him a *cup of red wine* and a *manchet*.

Another proof of the reality of the culinary executions we mention, as well as of the great ſhare which the people of the Kitchen bore in former times, in ſupporting the dignity of Kings, is to be found in the deſcription of the manner in which the Knights of the Bath are to be inſtalled, according to the Statutes of the Order. The inſtalled Knight is, on that occaſion, to receive admonitions, not only from the Dean of the Order, but alſo from the Maſter-Cook of the Sovereign, who repairs purpoſely on that day to Weſtminſter Church; though the place be rather diſtant from his diſtrict. After the different ceremonies of the inſtallation, ſuch as taking the Oath, hearing the exhortation of the Dean, and the like, are over, the inſtalled Knight, inveſted with the *inſignia* of his dignity, places himſelf on the one ſide of the door; the Cook, inveſted with the *inſignia* of his own, viz. his white linen apron and his chopping-knife, places himſelf on the other, and addreſſes

the Knight in the following eloquent ſpeech: *Sir, you know what great oath you have taken; which if you keep, it will be great honour to you: but if you break it, I ſhall be compelled, by my office, to hack off your ſpurs from your heels.*

As the puniſhment that has been deſcribed above, is in itſelf of a grave nature, the particular ceremony with which it is to be inflicted, together with the reſpective ſhares allotted in the ceremony to the different Officers of the Royal Kitchen, have been carefully ſet down in writing. In regard to thoſe flagellations inflicted with a view to avenge any ſlighter diſreſpect ſhewn for the preſence or the orders of the Sovereign, as they were corrections of a different, and, we may ſay, of a more paternal nature, ſuch accuracy has not been uſed; but there is no doubt that they were performed in the ſame place in which the puniſhment above deſcribed was to be executed, and by much the ſame hands; whether they were to be beſtowed in the Palaces of Engliſh, or of foreign Kings, or of the great perſonages who were nearly related to them.

In fact, we are poſitively informed that the abovementioned Reverend Father Jeſuit was threatened, and according to others actually ſerved, with a flagellation in the *Kitchen*. The above Court Buffoon was chaſtiſed for his impudence in the ſame place, and Brantôme expreſsly

ſays that he was ſmartly flagellated in the Kitchen *(il fut bien fouetté à la Cuiſine)*. Nay, when great Men, who have at all times been fond of aping Kings, have aſſumed in their own Palaces, or Country Seats, the above power of flagellation, the operation has alſo been conſtantly performed in their Kitchens. Of this a number of inſtances might be produced; but I will content myſelf with mentioning that which is related in the Tales of the Queen of Navarre *(Contes de la Reine de Navarre)* of a wanton Friar Capuchin, who frequented the Houſe of a Nobleman in the Country, and who wanted once to perſuade a young Chambermaid in it, to wear, by way of mortification, a hair-cloth upon her bare ſkin, which he himſelf offered to put upon her: the young Woman mentioned the fact; and the Nobleman who heard of it, grew very angry at the attempt, as he thought, committed by the Friar in his Houſe, and got him to be ſoundly flagellated *in the Kitchen*. Nor that I mean, however, to offer this fact to the Reader, as a fact for the truth of which I vouch to him, in the ſame manner as I have done with reſpect to the preceding ones; but though the above-quoted Book bears only the title of *Tales*, yet, as it is undoubtedly an old Book, and has been in ſo much eſteem as to have been ſuppoſed to have been written by Queen Margaret, Wife to Henry the Fourth, it is at leaſt to be

depended upon with reſpect to thoſe particular cuſtoms and manners it alludes to *.

That flagellations were, in not very remote times, much in uſe in the Palaces of the Great, and were ſerved in the Kitchen, are therefore aſſured facts. With reſpect to our being ſo imperfectly informed of the different ceremonies that uſually accompanied ſuch corrections, it is owing to different cauſes; and firſt, to a kind of careleſſneſs with which, it muſt be confeſſed, the affair was commonly tranſacted. The great Perſonages who gave orders in that reſpect, were not ſufficiently correct in their manner of giving them; nor did they take ſufficient care to confine themſelves to any ſettled forms of words for that purpoſe: whence it always proved an impoſſible thing for the Maſters of the Ceremonies to collect and ſet down in writing any thing preciſe on that head. For here we are to obſerve, that the Princes who gave ſuch orders, did not give them in their capacity of Truſtees of the Executive, Legiſlative, Military, or Judicial Powers in the Nation. Neither did the Great Men about them, order corrections of the ſame kind in their own houſes, in

* The French word *Cuiſtre*, which is the common word to expreſs a flagellator, in a public School, was the old word for a Cook: whence we may conclude, that, in large public Schools alſo, the people of the Kitchen were ſuppoſed to poſſeſs peculiar abilities for performing flagellations.

their capacity of Admirals, Generals, or Knights of the Garter, or of the *St. Eſprit*. The flagellations in queſtion, as hath been above obſerved, were corrections of quite a paternal kind: they were commonly ordered on a ſudden, according as circumſtances aroſe, *pro re natâ*, without much ceremony or ſolemnity; and they may extremely well be compared with thoſe boxes on the ears which Queen Elizabeth would ſometimes beſtow upon her Maids of Honour, or with thoſe marks of attention with which ſhe honoured thoſe who made their appearance in the neighbourhood of her Palaces with high ruffs and long ſwords, who had them immediately clipped or broken.

When the above great Perſonages were deſirous that a flagellation ſhould be inflicted, a word from them, a geſture, an exclamation, commonly proved ſufficient. The numerous Servants who ſurrounded them, through a zeal that cannot be too much praiſed, conſtantly ſaved them the trouble of expreſſing themſelves more at length on the ſubject: they quickly laid hold of the perſon of the culprit; hurried him down into the Kitchen; and without loſs of time proceeded to ſerve the preſcribed flagellation, the conduct of which was now intirely left to their diſcretion: only they took care to regulate their actions upon what they had formerly ſeen practiſed on ſimilar occaſions, or in caſes of a more ſerious nature: they, for in-

ſtance, never forgot, when the flagellation was accompliſhed, to offer the ſufferers the abovementioned *cup of wine* and *manchet*; nor are we to think that the latter always refuſed to accept them.

And indeed it is no wonder, to conclude on this ſubject, that the Kitchen had become the appropriated part of Palaces for ſerving flagellations. The Kitchen was the place of the general reſort of thoſe numerous bodies of Servants, who, in former times, filled the Houſes of the Great: it was the place in which they deliberated upon every important occurrence; in which they kept their Archives; and where their General Eſtates were continually aſſembled. There Great Men were ſure, upon every ſudden emergency, to find a ſufficient *Poſſe* of Servants, ready to do any kind of miſchief under the ſanction of their Royal or Noble Maſter, and who were never ſo pleaſed as when their aſſiſtance was requeſted to effect a flagellation. When a Reverend Father Jeſuit, or ſome ſaucy Friar Capuchin, was to be the ſufferer, the contentment was, no doubt, much increaſed; but when the Buffoon himſelf, who commonly was the moſt miſchievous animal of the whole Crew, was to be flagellated, then indeed we may ſafely affirm, that an univerſal joy and uproar prevailed over the whole Royal or Noble manſion.

CHAP. XIII.

The ſubject of voluntary flagellations among Chriſtians is at laſt introduced. That method of ſelf-mortification appears to have been practiſed in very early times; but it does not ſeem to have been univerſally admitted before the years 1047 *and* 1056; *which was the time Cardinal Damianus wrote* *.

VOLUNTARY flagellations were not a practice that was contrived on a ſudden, and then immediately diffuſed over the Chriſtian world.

* The Reader, no doubt, feels a great pleaſure in ſeeing the ſubject of pious flagellations among Chriſtians again introduced, and a freſh Chapter begun upon it: indeed the Author had taken a great liberty, in loſing ſight of his main ſubject for ſo long a time, and dwelling, through ſo many pages, upon the flagellatory corrections which, after the example of Convents, were, in not very remote days, practiſed in the Palaces of the Great:

Long before the period in which their uſe began to be univerſally adopted, they were

his zeal in the defence of Friars and Nuns has inſenſibly carried him theſe lengths.

In the preſent Chapter, the Author has alſo indulged himſelf in a piece of great freedom with the Abbé Boileau, his original, or rather his model: which is no leſs than to have given a direct contradiction to the main doctrine advanced by the Abbé in his Work.

Thus, the principal, or rather ſole point, which the Abbé labours to prove in his Book, is, that voluntary flagellations only began to be practiſed among Chriſtians, in the years 1047 or 1056; this is an aſſertion which he introduces almoſt at every page, and which expreſsly conſtitutes the title of one of his Chapters (the 7th): yet he has himſelf quoted (without diſputing the truth of them) ſeveral facts that ſhew ſuch practice to have been much older: I have therefore taken the liberty, in the preſent Chapter, in which thoſe facts are collected, to diſſent from the doctrine maintained by him, and have advanced, that voluntary flagellations were practiſed in early times among Chriſtians, though they began to be univerſally admitted only in the years 1047 and 1056.

And indeed if the Reader now aſked my own opinion concerning the antiquity, or novelty, of

practiſed by divers perſons, in different times and places, as we may judge from the ac-

the practice in queſtion, a ſubject which has cauſed much diſputation among Catholic Divines; I would anſwer, that I do not think it in the leaſt probable, that a practice like this, after having been unknown for ſo many Centuries, ſhould afterwards have been thought of on a ſudden, and then adopted by the whole Chriſtian world, at the ſame period.

In the firſt place it is to be obſerved, that though the ſtrict truth of thoſe early inſtances of voluntary flagellations, which are to be found in the Abbé's text, might perhaps be controverted, yet, as the reader will ſee, ſuch inſtances are related by early and contemporary Writers, as common facts, at which they do not expreſs any ſurpriſe.

In the ſecond place, ſince the oppoſers of the opinion of the antiquity of ſelf-flagellations admit, that cruel voluntary penances, ſuch as wearing iron cuiraſſes inwardly armed with points, being continually loaded with enormous weights, dwelling in the bottom of dwells, or on the tops of columns, were practiſed by the firſt Chriſtians, it is difficult to underſtand why they make ſuch objections againſt flagellations in particular, which they agree to have been employed, from the earlieſt times, by Eccleſiaſtical Superiors, as common

counts that have been left us, of ſeveral early facts; a few of which I here purpoſe to relate.

methods of correcting offences of a religious kind, and which were likewiſe uſed for pious purpoſes, before the eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity.

Nay, beating and laſhing one's ſelf, are means of ſelf-mortification, which, more readily than any other, occur to the minds either of ſuperſtitious, or hypocritical perſons. Practices of this kind preſently gratify the ſudden fits of fanaticiſm of the one, and ſerve extremely well the purpoſes of the other, in that they catch the minds of the vulgar, by the diſplay of an apparatus of cruel inſtruments and a ſhow of great ſeverity, at the ſame time that they are in reality much leſs difficult to be borne than the penances above alluded to, and want what conſtituted the moſt intolerable hardſhip of theſe latter, diuturnity and uninterruption.

Beſides, thoſe who make ſelf-flagellation part of their religious exerciſes, always have it in their power to take, like Sancho, their own time for performing them, as well as to chooſe what ſtation they pleaſe for that purpoſe. In Summer, they may ſettle themſelves in a cool place; in Winter, near a good fire; and have conſtantly by them ſome excellent liquor, to refreſh themſelves with,

One is contained in the Life of St. Peter, the Hermit of the *Pont Euxin*, which was written by Theodoret, Biſhop of Cyrus, who has been mentioned in a former Chapter, and lived about the year 400. This holy Hermit having found means to reſcue a young Woman from the hands of a military Officer, who wanted to ſeduce her, was much perplexed afterwards how to prevent the effects of both the wrath and luſt of that impure man; nor could he, in the iſſue, compaſs this any other way than by locking himſelf up, as Theodoret relates, and ſeverely flagellating

during the different pauſes they think proper to make.

They may moreover uſe juſt what degree of ſeverity they chooſe. They even may, like Sancho, who only laſhed the trees around him, or like the Hermit mentioned by La Fontaine, content themſelves with flagellating the walls of their apartment: nay, they may perform no flagellation at all, and yet make afterwards what boaſt they pleaſe. Having duly weighed all the above important conſiderations, as well as the facts quoted by the Abbé, the truth of which he does not take the trouble to deny, I have ventured to diſſent from his inconſiſtent aſſertions, and have made the abovementioned change in his doctrine.

himſelf, in company with the Mother of the young Woman *.

Palladius, Biſhop of Hellenopolis, in his Hiſtory of the Lives of ſeveral holy Solitaries, which he wrote in the year 420, and dedicated to Lauſus, whence the Book was called *Lauſiacum*, relates a fact which inconteſtably proves that flagellations voluntarily ſubmitted to, by thoſe perſons who underwent them, were in uſe ſo early as the fourth Century. He ſays, in the Life of Abbot Arſiſius, that on the mountain of Nitria, in Thebaid,

* The above fact related by Theodoret is very poſitive; and it ſupplies an evident proof, that the practice of ſelf-flagellation was not unknown in the times of that early Writer: the ſilence of the ſame Author in other parts of his Writings, concerning the practice in queſtion, ſhews nothing more, except that the ſame was not univerſally adopted in his time, as hath been obſerved in the Note, pag. 124 of this Work.

The haſty aſſertions of the Abbé Boileau againſt the antiquity of ſelf-flagellation, which are repeated almoſt in every page of his Book, in ſpite of the facts which himſelf produces, gives juſt cauſe to gueſs that he uſed to practiſe but little upon himſelf that ſalutary kind of mortification.

there was a very large Church, in the vicinity of which ſtood three Palm-trees, on each of which hung a ſcourge: the one ſerved to chaſtiſe ſuch Monks as proved refractory againſt the Rule; the other to puniſh Thieves; and the third ſerved to correct ſuch *accidental comers* as became guilty of ſome fault: the delinquents, according to what claſs they belonged, embraced one of the Palm-trees, and in this ſituation received a certain number of laſhes with one of the above ſcourges.

It is expreſsly ſaid of St. Pardulph, a Benedictine Monk and Abbot, who lived during the time of Charles Martel, about the year 737, that he uſed in Lent-time to ſtrip himſelf ſtark-naked, and order one of his diſciples to laſh him. The fact is related in the life of that Saint, formerly written by an Author who lived about the ſame time; and it was, two hundred years afterwards, put into more elegant language, by Yvus, Prior of Clugny, at the deſire of the Monks of St. Martial, in the Town of Limoges: Hugh Menard, a Benedictine Father, and a very learned Man in all that relates to Eccleſiaſtical Antiquities, has inſerted part of it in his Book, intitled, *Obſervations on the Benedictine Martyrology*. The following is the Paſſage in St. Pardulph's Life, which is

here alluded to. 'St. Pardulph ſeldom went 'out of his cell; whenever ſickneſs obliged 'him to bathe, he would previouſly make 'inciſions in his own ſkin. During Lent, he 'uſed to ſtrip himſelf intirely naked, and or-'dered one of his diſciples to laſh him with 'rods *.'

St. William, Duke of Aquitain, who lived in the time of Charlemain, that is, about the year 800, and many years before Cardinal Damian, is ſaid to have alſo uſed flagellations, as a means of voluntary penance. Arduinus, the Writer of the holy Duke's Life, and a cotemporary Writer, ſays, that 'it was com-'monly reported that the Duke did frequent-'ly, for the love of Chriſt, cauſe himſelf to 'be whipped, and that he then was alone 'with the perſon who aſſiſted him †.' Haeftenus, Superior of the Monaſtery of Affligen, relates the ſame fact, and ſays that the Duke of Aquitain 'took a great delight in ſleeping 'upon a hard bed, and that he moreover 'laſhed himſelf with a ſcourge.' Hugh Menard, the learned Benedictine juſt now men-

* . . . . *Tempore quadrageſimo, toto corpore nudato, ſe à quodam diſcipulo virgis cædi præcipiebat.*

† Part I. Actor. Ord. S. Benedicti, pag. 208. *Aiunt nonnulli ſe ſæpe pro Chriſti amore flagellis cædi, nullo alio præter eum qui adcrat conſcio, juſſiſſe.*

tioned, has adopted the teſtimony of Arduinus, and upon that Writer's authority inſerted the above fact in his *Obſervations on the Benedictine Martyrology.*

Other perſons, who lived before the times of Cardinal Damian, are alſo mentioned by different Writers, as having practiſed voluntary flagellations. Gualbertus, Abbot of Pontoiſe, who lived about the year 900, upon a certain occaſion, 'ſeverely flagellated himſelf (as M. Du Cange relates in his Gloſſary) with a ſcourge made of knotted thongs.' And the abovementioned Haeftenus, Prior of Affligen, has advanced that the ſame practice was followed by St. Romuald, who lived about the ſame time as Gualbertus, and by the Monks of the Camaldolian order, who were ſettled in Sitria.

Another early inſtance of voluntary flagellations occurs in the Life of *Guy*, Abbot of *Pompoſa*. Heribert, it is ſaid, Archbiſhop of Ravenna, formed the deſign of pulling down the Monaſtery of *Pompoſa*; and this piece of news cauſed both Abbot *Guy* and his Monks, 'to lock themſelves up in the Capitular Houſe, and to laſh themſelves every day, for ſeveral days, with rods *.' Abbot Guy was

* . . . *Quotidiè acriter ſe cædendi virgis in domo Capitulari.*

born in the year 956; and he was made Abbot of Pompoſa in the year 998, in which capacity he continued forty-eight years.

All the facts above related were anterior to the year 1056, the time at which Peter Damian *de Honeſtis* was raiſed to the Cardinalſhip by Pope Stephen IX; and it is evident from them, that the practice of voluntarily flagellating one's-ſelf, as a penance for committed ſins, had been adopted before the period in queſtion; though it cannot be ſaid to have been then univerſally prevalent: at leaſt, only a few inſtances of it have been left us by the Writers of thoſe times. But at the æra we mention, this pious mode of ſelf-correction, owing to the public and zealous patronage with which the above Cardinal favoured it, acquired a vaſt degree of credit, and grew into univerſal eſteem; and then it was that perſons of religious diſpoſitions were every where ſeen to arm themſelves with whips, rods, thongs, and beſoms, and lacerate their own hides, in order to draw upon themſelves the favour of Heaven.

We are informed of this fact by the learned Cardinal Baronius, in his Eccleſiaſtical Annals: 'At that time (he ſays) the laudable 'uſage of the faithful, of beating themſelves 'with whips made for that purpoſe, though

'Peter Damian may not be ſaid to have been 'the author of it, was much promoted by 'him in the Chriſtian Church; in which he 'followed the example of the bleſſed Domi-'nic the *Cuiraſſed*, a holy Hermit, who had 'ſubjected himſelf to his authority *.'

The ſame Cardinal Damian has moreover left numerous accounts of voluntary flagellations practiſed by certain holy Men of his times; but theſe are ſurely more apt to create our admiration, than to excite us to imitate them. Indeed, the flagellations he mentions cannot be propoſed to the Faithful as examples they ought to follow; and they were executed with ſuch dreadful ſeverity, as makes it impoſſible for the moſt vigorous Men to go through the like, without a kind of miracle.

In the Life of the Monk St. Rodolph, who was afterwards made Biſhop of Eugubio,

* The Abbé Boileau, in his Book, concludes the above quotation, with wiſhing that Baronius had been pleaſed to inform us of the name of the real Author of the practice of voluntary flagellation. As he thinks that there has exiſted a certain particular period, at which this practice began to be univerſally followed, prior to which it was utterly unknown, ſo he hopes that ſome undiſputed Inventor of the ſame may be fixed upon.

the Cardinal relates, 'That this holy Man 'would often impoſe upon himſelf a penance 'of an hundred years, and that he performed 'it in twenty days, by the ſtrenuous applica- 'tion of a broom, without neglecting the 'other common methods uſed in doing pe- 'nance. Every day, being ſhut up in his 'cell, he recited the whole Pſalter (or Book 'of Pſalms) at leaſt one time when he could 'not two, being all the while armed with a 'beſom in each hand, with which he inceſ- 'ſantly laſhed himſelf *.'

The account which the Cardinal has left of Dominic, ſirnamed the *Cuiraſſed*, is not leſs wonderful. 'His conſtant practice (he 'ſays) is, after ſtripping himſelf naked, to 'fill both his hands with rods, and then vi- 'gorouſly flagellate himſelf: this he does in 'his times of relaxation. But during Lent- 'time, or when he really means to mortify 'himſelf, he frequently undertakes the hun- 'dred years penance; and then he every day

* *Sæpè pœnitentiam centum ſuſcipiebat annorum, quam per viginti dies, alliſione ſcoparum, cæteriſque pœnitentiæ remediis, perſolvebat. Pſalterium quotidiè, cùm duo non poſſet unum ſaltem, non negligebat implere: quod nimirùm cùm eſſet in cellulâ conſtitutus, armatâ ſcopis utrâque manu, totum cùm diſciplinâ continuare conſueverat.*

'recites the Pſalter at leaſt three times over, 'all the while flogging himſelf with be-'ſoms *.'

Cardinal Damian then proceeds to relate the manner in which the ſame Dominic informed him he performed the hundred years penance. 'A Man (ſaid he) may depend he 'has accompliſhed it, when he has flagellated 'himſelf during the whole time the Pſalter 'was ſung twenty times over †.' The ſame Author adds ſeveral circumſtances which make the penances performed by the holy Man appear in a ſtill more admirable light. He, in the firſt place, was ſo dextrous as to be able to uſe both his hands at once, and thus laid on twice the number of laſhes others could do, who only uſed their right-hand. In one inſtance, he fuſtigated himſelf during the time the whole Book of Pſalms was ſung twice

* *Cap. viii. Hanc autem vitæ conſuetudinem indifferenter habet, ut utrâque manu ſcopis armatâ, nudum corpus allidat; & hoc remiſſiori tempore. Nam quadrageſimalibus circulis, ſive cum pœnitentiam peragendam habet, crebro centum annorum pœnitentiam ſuſcipit: tunc per dies ſingulos, dum ſe ſcoparum tunſionibus afficit, ut minùs tria Pſalteria meditando perſolvit.*

† *Hominem tempore quo viginti Pſalteria recitabantur vapulantem, pœnitentiam centenarium explevisſe.*

over; on another occaſion he did the ſame while it was ſung eight times; and on another, while it was repeated twelve times over; 'which filled me with terror,' the Cardinal adds, 'when I heard the fact *.'

Cardinal Damian alſo relates of the ſame Dominic the *Cuiraſſed*, that he at laſt changed his diſcipline of rods into that of leather-thongs, which was ſtill harſher; and that he had been able to accuſtom himſelf to that laborious exerciſe. Nay, ſo punctual was he in performing the duties he had impoſed upon himſelf, that, 'when he happened to go 'abroad (being an Hermit) he carried his 'ſcourge in his boſom, to the end that, where-'ver he happened to ſpend the night, he 'might loſe no time, and flog himſelf with 'the ſame regularity as uſual. If the place 'in which he had taken his refuge for the 'night, did not allow him to ſtrip entirely, 'and fuſtigate himſelf from head to foot, 'he at leaſt would ſeverely beat his legs and 'head †.'

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* Cap. X. *Quod certè quum audivi tremefactus expavi.*

† *Hoc flagellum, ſi quando egrederetur, portabat in*

ſinu, ut ubicunque eum jacere contingeret, à verberibus non vacaret, &c.

Carrying a *diſcipline* conſtantly about one, like the above Dominic, and making an oſtentatious diſplay of it, are among the number of thoſe characteriſtical circumſtances which are looked upon, in Catholic Countries, as marking hypocriſy: to this notion a frequent alluſion is made both in Novels and Plays; thus, the firſt words of *Tartuffe*, or the Hypocrite, in the Play of Mollere which bears that name, who makes his firſt appearance only when the Play is ſomewhat advanced, are to order his Man, with a loud affected voice, to lock up his hair-cloth and *diſcipline*. However, we are not to think that all thoſe who thus make a diſplay of their diſcipline, uſe it with ſo much earneſtneſs and perſeverance as the above-mentioned Dominic the *Cuiraſſed*, or Rodolph of Eugubio; though it cannot be denied that ſeveral perſons of a gloomy ſuperſtitious temper, ſtill practiſe in theſe days mortifications of that kind with great ſeverity; and indeed, as hath been obſerved in a former Note, the aſtoniſhing penances practiſed by Fakirs in the Eaſt Indies, which are undeniable facts, make every account of that ſort appear credible to us.

If the evil ariſing from the above cruel practices, reached no farther than the uſeleſs ſufferings which thoſe who follow them, bring upon them-

ſelves, one might ſincerely pity their infatuation; but it is a truth confirmed by experience, that ſuperſtitious exerciſes or mortifications like theſe, are ſeldom introduced but at the expence of other really eſſential obligations; and though the rigour of ſuch mortifications is very wiſely abated gradually every day, ſo that they are at length reduced to only ſome trifling practices, yet, they are made to ſupply the place of almoſt every duty which Men owe to one another: thus, to quote only one ſtriking inſtance on the ſubject, Lewis the Eleventh of France, after he had paid a few devotions of his own contrivance to a leaden image of the Virgin he conſtantly wore ſtuck to his hat, thought he had fully atoned beforehand for any crime he meditated to commit.

I ſhall conclude this Note with a ſtroke of ridicule which M. de Voltaire, in one of his *Pieces mêlées*, throws upon the dangerous, and at the ſame time arrogant, pretenſions of thoſe perſons who voluntarily ſubmit to mortifications like thoſe here alluded to. He ſuppoſes a converſation to take place with a Fakir, of which a Turk, then on his travels in India, writes an account to one of his friends.

'I happened to croſs a Fakir, who was reading 'in his Book: Ah wretched Infidel! cried he; 'thou haſt made me loſe a number of vowels that

'I was counting, which will occaſion my ſoul to 'paſs into the body of a hare, inſtead of that of 'a parrot, with which I had before the greateſt 'reaſon to flatter myſelf: I gave him a Rupee to 'comfort him for the accident. In going a few 'paces farther, I had the misfortune to ſneeze; 'the noiſe I made rouſed a Fakir who was in a 'trance.—Heavens, cried he, what a dreadful 'noiſe! where am I! I can no longer ſee the 'tip of my noſe! the heavenly light has diſap-'peared.—If I am the cauſe, ſaid I, of your ſee-'ing farther than the tip of your noſe, here is a 'Rupee to repair the injury: ſquint again, and 'reſume the heavenly light *.

'Having thus brought myſelf off diſcreetly 'enough, I paſſed over to the ſide of the Gym-'noſophiſts, ſeveral of whom brought me a par-'cel of mighty pretty nails to drive into my arms, 'and thighs, in honour of Brahma: I bought 'their nails, and made uſe of them to faſten my 'boxes. Others were dancing upon their hands; 'others cut capers on the ſlack-rope; and others 'went always upon one foot. There were ſome 'who dragged about a heavy chain with them; 'and others carried a pack-ſaddle; ſome had al-'ways their heads in a buſhel; the beſt people in

* It is needleſs to obſerve that all this alludes to real penances or practices of the Indian Fakirs.

'the world to live with. My friend Omri carried me to the cell of one of the moſt famous 'of them. His name was Bahabec. He was as 'naked as he was born, and had a great chain 'about his neck, that weighed upwards of ſixty 'pounds. He ſat on a wooden chair, very neatly decorated with little points of nails, that ran 'into his poſteriors; and you would have thought 'he ſat on a velvet cuſhion. Numbers of Women flocked to him, to conſult him: he was 'the Oracle of all the families in the neighbourhood; and was, truly ſpeaking, in great reputation. I was witneſs to a long converſation 'that Omri had with him.—Do you think, Father, ſaid my friend, that, after having gone 'through ſeven metempſychoſes, I may at length 'arrive at the houſe of Brama.—That is as it may 'happen, ſaid the Fakir. What ſort of life do 'you lead?—I endeavour, anſwered Omri, to be 'a good ſubject, a good huſband, a good father, 'and a good friend: I lend money without intereſt to the rich who want it, and I give it to 'the poor: I preſerve peace among my neighbours.—But have you ever run nails into your 'backſide, demanded the Brahmin.—Never, reverend Father.—I am ſorry for it, replied the 'Father; very ſorry for it indeed. It is a thouſand pities; but you will not certainly reach

'above the nineteenth Heaven.—No higher? ſaid 'Omri. In troth I am very well ſatisfied with 'my lot. But pray, what heaven do you think 'of going to, good Mr. Bahabec, with your 'nails and your chain? Into the thirty-fifth, ſaid 'Bahabec, &c. &c *.'

The above recited feats of Dominic the *Cuiraſſed*, and Rodolph of Eugubio, who have had numerous imitators, together with the very ſerious endeavours of Men in the ſtation of Cardinal Damian, to recommend ſuch practices, are very extraordinary facts. It really ſeems that, in our part of the world, where the Arts and Sciences have been promoted to ſo high a degree, and the powers of the human mind carried to their utmoſt extent, we have, in regard to the folly and ignorance of our ſuperſtitious notions and cuſtoms, been equal to any Nation upon earth, to any of thoſe Nations whom we deſpiſe moſt: nay, perhaps it might be ſtrictly proved that we have been worſe.

* See Voltaire's Works, tranſlated by *Smollet, Franklin, and others*, Vol. XIII. pag. 23, &c.

CHAP. XIV.

The practice of self-flagellation meets with some opposition; but this is soon over-ruled by the fondness of the Public.

VOLUNTARY flagellations, notwithstanding the zeal with which Cardinal Damian endeavoured to promote them, were not, however, admitted, in his time, by all persons, without exception. Thus, Odillon, Abbot of Cluny, and Maurus of Cesena, two Saints whose Lives Cardinal Damian himself has written, forbore the use of flagellations; or at least no mention is made of their having practised them, in the Accounts the Cardinal has given of their actions.

Nay, several persons openly blamed the pious ceremonies in question, during the times of Cardinal Damian; for it was too alarming a practice, for Men not to be concerned at its sudden progress; it was an exercise of too ticklish a nature, for them to suffer themselves

to fall asleep on its introduction, or too interesting in its consequence, for them not to be roused by the rattling of the blows.

Among those who thus condemned voluntary flagellations, the most conspicuous was Peter Cerebrosus, a Monk who lived in those times, and was moreover a friend to Cardinal Damian. This brought on, an epistolary debate on the subject, between Cerebrosus and the Cardinal, as we learn from the Works of the latter. Nor did the Cardinal, it is to be observed, advance in his letters, that self-flagellations were matter of strict duty: he only proved by the authority of the Scriptures, that it was lawful to flagellate persons who were guilty of offences; and he then gave it as his opinion, that it was a laudable act in a Christian, voluntarily to inflict upon himself that punishment which God had awarded against him, and which he ought to suffer from the hands of other persons.

The opposition made by Cerebrosus had especially for its object, the manner in which voluntary flagellations were performed. He blamed the length of time, and the vehemence, with which certain persons executed them; and condemned the extraordinary severity with which the abovementioned Flogging-Masters used to lash themselves, while

they were ſinging a number of Pſalms over. This cauſed the Cardinal to write a new letter to him, in order to deſire him to explain better his ſentiments on that ſubject: the following is an extract from the Cardinal's letter: 'Perhaps you do not blame the 'practice of ſelf-diſcipline, though you con-'demn it when too long continued, and per-'formed with cruelty: perhaps you do not 'diſapprove that diſcipline be performed dur-'ing the time one Pſalm is ſinging, but you 'ſhudder at the thought of ſinging the whole 'Pſalter over. Now ſpeak, my Brother, I 'beſeech you, if I may aſk you the queſtion, 'do you find fault with thoſe diſciplines 'which are practiſed in the chapters of Con-'vents? do you alſo blame the uſe adopted 'in them, of preſcribing to a Father who 'confeſſes himſelf guilty of any ſlight fault, 'to undergo twenty, or at moſt fifty laſhes?'

To the above facts, an obſervation is to be added, which is, that, though Cerebroſus maintained a different opinion from that of Cardinal Damian, yet the latter never charged him with having fallen, in that reſpect, into any kind of criminal error, or hereſy, but on the contrary, calls him his dear Son, his Brother in Chriſt, and his good Friend, as appears from his Epiſtles xxvii. and xxviii; as

well as from his lxiid Epiſtle, which he wrote to the Fathers of the Monaſtery of Mount Caſſin, in commendation of flagellations. This mild and civil manner with which the above diſpute was carried on, between Cardinal Damian, and Peter Cerebroſus, reflects much honour upon both, and ſhews that they were perſonages of eminent merit. Nor did the Cardinal uſe the opinions of Cardinal Stephen, who, when alive, had likewiſe oppoſed ſelf-flagellations, with leſs moderation; and he frequently calls him a Man of pious memory: though it is but juſt to add, that this Cardinal Stephen was commonly ſuſpected of having died ſuddenly, on account of his having deſpiſed the exerciſe in queſtion.

However, notwithſtanding the doubts of Peter Cerebroſus, and of Cardinal Stephen, the practice of voluntary flagellations ſoon ſpread itſelf far and wide; and we find it to have been adopted, ſince the times we mention, by numbers of perſons, eminent on account either of their dignity, or their merit; ſeveral of whom have been mentioned by Father Gretzer. Among them were St. Andrew Biſhop of Fieſola, Laurence Juſtinian, Abbot Poppo, and eſpecially St. Anthelm, Biſhop of Bellay, who lived about an hundred years after Dominic the *Cuiraſſed* and Rodolph of

Eugubio, and glorioufly trod in the footfteps of thefe two holy Men. 'Every day (it is 'faid in that Saint's Life, which was written 'by one of his intimate friends) every day he 'fcourged himfelf, making laſhes fall thick 'on his back and ſides, and by thus heaping ſtripes upon ſtripes, he never ſuffered 'his ſkin to remain whole, or free from marks 'of blows *.'

Even Sovereigns, and Great Men, in the times we ſpeak of, adopted for themſelves the practice of voluntary flagellation.

The Emperor Henry, who lived about the year 1070, 'never ventured (if we may credit Reginard's account) to put on his Imperial

* The abovementioned Anthelm, I think I have read, lived to a very great age. The famous ſelf-flagellator Dominic the *Cuiraſſed*, lived eighty-four years; St. Romuald, notwithſtanding the flagellations he received from himſelf and his Monks, attained, it is ſaid, the age of an hundred and twenty years; and Leon of *Preza*, another illuſtrious ſelf-flagellator, lived, according to ſome accounts, to the age of an hundred and forty. If ſo, it would thence reſult, that ſelf-flagellations, beſides the other great advantages they poſſeſs, are alſo attended with that of being conducive to health.

'robes, before he had obtained the permiſſion 'of a Prieſt for that purpoſe, and had de-'ſerved it by confeſſion and diſcipline.'

William of Nangis, in the Life of St. Lewis King of France, which he has written, relates that that Prince, after he had made his confeſſion, conſtantly received diſcipline from his Confeſſor. To this the ſame Author adds the following curious account. 'I ought 'not to omit to ſay, concerning the Confeſſor 'the King had before Geoffrey *de Bello loco*, 'and who belonged to the Order of the *Pre-'dicant* Friars, that he uſed to inflict upon 'him, hard and immoderate diſciplines; 'which the King, whoſe ſkin was rather ten-'der, had much ado to endure. This hard-'ſhip, however, he never would ſpeak of 'to this Confeſſor; but after his death, he 'mentioned the fact, ſomewhat jocularly, 'though not without humility, to the new 'Confeſſor *.'

An inſtance of much the ſame nature with the facts above recited, is to be found in one of *Ofbertus's* Books. A certain Engliſh Count having contracted an unlawful marriage with one of his near relations, not only parted af-

* . . . . *Jocando ridendo hoc alteri Confeſſori ſuo humiliter recognovit.*

terwards with her, but requeſted beſides to be diſciplined in the preſence of St. Dunſtan, and of the General Aſſembly of the Clergy. 'Terrified (ſays *Oſbertus*) by the greatneſs of 'his offence, his obſtinacy ceaſed; and after 'having renounced his unlawful wedlock, he 'impoſed upon himſelf the taſk of penitence. 'As Dunſtan was then preſiding over a meeting of the Clergy of the Kingdom, which 'was holden according to cuſtom, the Count 'came into the middle of the Aſſembly, bare-'footed, clothed with wool, and carrying 'rods in his hands; and threw himſelf, groaning and weeping, at the feet of St. Dunſtan. 'This inſtance of piety moved the whole Aſſembly, and Dunſtan more than the reſt. 'However, as his wiſh was thoroughly to reconcile the Man with God, he preſerved an 'appearance of ſeverity in his looks, ſuitable 'to the occaſion, and for a whole hour perſevered in denying his requeſt: when, at laſt, 'all the Prelates having joined in the entreaties of the Count, St. Dunſtan granted him 'the indulgence he was ſuing for.' From the above fact, we might conclude that flagellations voluntarily ſubmitted to, had become, even before the æra of Cardinal Damian, a ſettled method of atoning for paſt ſins, ſince St. Dunſtan lived about an hundred

years before the Cardinal; that is, about the year 950.

Inſtances of Sovereigns, and Great Men, requeſting to undergo flagellations, muſt have been pretty common in the days we mention, frequent alluſions being made to it, in old books: among others, in that old French Romance, intitled, *The Hiſtory of the Round Table, and the Feats of the Knight, Lancelot du Lac.* King Arthur is ſuppoſed in it, to have ſummoned all the Biſhops who were in his army, to his Chapel; and there to have requeſted of them, a correction of the ſame kind as that undergone by the Count mentioned by Oſbertus *.

From the times we mention, we find numerous proofs of ſelf-flagellations being uſed in Convents: and indeed it would have been a very extraordinary circumſtance, if, while the perſons abovenamed adopted that practice, Monks had rejected it. In the liiid Article of the Statutes of the Abbey of Cluny, which were collected by Peter Maurice, ſirnamed the Venerable, who was raiſed to the dignity of Abbot in the year 1122, the fol-

* . . . . *Après, priſt diſcipline d'eux; moult doucement la recut. Imprimé à Paris, par A. Gerard, le* 1. *Juillet*, 1494. This muſt have been one of the firſt books that were printed.

lowing account is given. 'It was ordained '(it is ſaid in that Article) that that part of 'the Monaſtery which is on the left, beyond 'the left Choir, ſhould remain open to no 'ſtrange perſons, whether Eccleſiaſtical or 'Lay, as it was formerly, and nobody admit-'ted into it, except the Monks. This was 'thus ſettled, becauſe the Brothers had no 'place, except the old Church of St. Peter, 'in which they could practiſe ſuch holy and 'ſecret exerciſes as are uſual with religious 'perſons; they therefore claimed the uſe of 'the above new part of the Church, both for 'the night and the day, that they might con-'ſtantly therein make offerings of the per-'fumes of their prayers to God, ſupplicate 'their Creator by frequent acts of repentance 'and genuflexions, and mortify their bodies 'by often inflicting upon themſelves three 'flagellations, either as penances for their 'ſins, or as *an increaſe of their merit* *.'

* . . . . *ubi ſancta & ſecreta orationum aromata Deo aſſiduè accenderent; frequentibus metanœis vel genuflexionibus pio conditori ſupplicarent; à tribus ſæpè flagellis, vel ad pœnitentiam, vel ad augendum meritum, corpus attererent.*

I will take this occaſion to inform the Reader, that Monks, or perſons of religious diſpoſitions, do not always mean, in the penances they impoſe

The practice in queſtion gained ſo much credit, about thoſe times, in Monaſteries, that St. Bruno, who, a few years after the death of Cardinal Damian, founded the Carthuſian Order, thought it neceſſary to reſtrain his Monks in that reſpect; not unlikely, perhaps, with the view to check the pride which they uſed to derive from ſuch exerciſes. In one of the ſtatutes laid by that Saint, which Prior Guigues has collected, the following regulation is contained. 'In regard to ſuch diſci-'plines, watchings, and other religious exer-'ciſes as are not expreſsly enjoined by our In-'ſtitution, let nobody among us perform 'them, except it be by the Prior's per-'miſſion.'

So much were flagellations grown into faſhion in the days we mention, ſuch attrac-

on themſelves, to atone for their ſins, which they do not by any means conſider as being in proportion to the number of their flagellations. They practiſe mortifications of this kind, either for the good of other perſons, or for delivering ſouls from Purgatory, or in order (as the Reader may ſee from the words above quoted) to increaſe their own merit, and, like the Fakir mentioned in a former place, go of courſe to the thirty-fifth Heaven.

tions did they even ſeem to poſſeſs, that Ladies of high rank would alſo inliſt among the abovementioned Whippers, and almoſt vied with Dominic the *Cuiraſſed*, Rodolph *de Eugubio*, St. Anthelm, and Abbot Poppo, in regard to the regularity with which they performed ſuch meritorious exerciſes. Among thoſe Ladies, particular mention is made of St. Maria of Ognia, of St. Hardwigge, Dutcheſs of Poland, of St. Hildegarde, and above all of the Widow Cechald, who lived in the very times of Cardinal Damian, and performed wonderful feats in the ſame career, as we are informed by St. Antonius, in the ſecond Volume of his Hiſtory. The following is the account given by St. Antonius, upon the authority of Cardinal Damian himſelf. 'Not 'only Men, but alſo Women of noble birth 'eagerly ſought after that kind of Purgatory; 'and the Widow of Cechaldus, a Woman of 'great birth and dignity, gave an account, 'that in conſequence of an obligation ſhe had 'previouſly impoſed upon herſelf, ſhe had 'gone through the hundred years penance, 'three thouſand laſhes being the number al-'lotted for every year *.'

* Tit. 16. Cap. VIII. fol. 102.—*Ut non ſolùm viri ſed & mulieres nobiles hoc purgatorii genus inhi-*

anter acciperent; relictamque Cechaldi, mulierem magni generis & magnæ dignitatis, retuliſſe ſe, per præfixam hujus regulæ diſciplinam, pœnitentiam centum annorum peregiſſe, tribus diſciplinarum milibus pro uno computatis anno.

The Widow Cechald, in her account of the wonderful penance ſhe performed after the example of Dominic the *Cuiraſſed*, has neglected to inform us in what manner ſhe performed it, and whether ſhe imitated that holy Man in every reſpect, and uſed, for inſtance, both her hands at once in the operation. Be it as it may; three hundred thouſand laſhes, the total amount of the hundred years penance ſhe went through, were certainly a very hard penance. However, as we are not to doubt either the account which the above Widow gave in that reſpect, or the declaration Cardinal Damian made after her, the wonder is to be explained another way, and perhaps by the nature of the inſtruments ſhe made uſe of: they poſſibly were of much the ſame kind as thoſe uſed by a certain Lady, who was likewiſe much celebrated on account of the frequent diſciplines ſhe beſtowed upon herſelf, and who was at laſt found out to uſe no other weapons for performing them, than a bunch of feathers, or, as others have ſaid, a fox's tail.

CHAP. XV.

Another difficulty. Which is the beſt plight to be in, for receiving a diſcipline?

EMINENT perſons, in the times we ſpeak of, did not differ from one another only in their opinions concerning the advantages of religious flagellations; but they alſo diſſented with reſpect to the manner of performing them, as we may likewiſe conclude from the Writings and Ordinances of thoſe times. Cardinal Damian, the great Patron of Flagellators, preſcribed to them to ſtrip themſelves naked, and when thus perfectly free from every obſtruction and impediment, to flog themſelves in company with one another: this we learn from his xliid *Opuſculum*, which he wrote to the Fathers of Mount Caſſin, who were not intirely reconciled to the thought of thoſe flagellations. On the other hand, an Ordinance which had been framed in the Aſſembly which was held at Aix-la-Chapelle, ſo early as the year 817, un-

der the reign of Lewis *le Débonnaire*, forbad the above manner of flagellating Monks, becauſe it did more harm than good. 'Let the 'Monks (it is ſaid in the 16th Canon) never 'be laſhed naked, in the preſence of the 'other Monks; let them not be whipped 'naked, for every trifling fault, in ſight of 'the Brothers.'

Several religious Orders ſubmitted to the directions of the above Canon; St. Lanfranc, among others, ordered, in his Statutes, 'That 'Monks, guilty of offences, ſhould be beat-'en with a thick rod, or wand, over their 'growns.' The Monks of Affligen, in the Netherlands, adopted the ſame Canon; and it was ſettled in their Ritual, as Haeftenus informs us, that the Monks ſhould have their gowns on, when they were to be cudgelled.

However, the wiſe precautions we mention were adopted only in a few particular places; and the regard which ought to be paid to decency, as well as to the prudent Ordinance of the Aſſembly held at Aix-la-Chapelle, was utterly forgotten in moſt Monaſteries; the practice recommended by Cardinal Damian being adopted in them, upon the ſcore of more complete mortification. Nay, ſo cheap did the Framers of regulations, in ſeveral Monaſteries, make their own nakedneſs, as well

as that of the Brothers, that in certain cases they ordered delinquents to be stript in order to be flagellated, in sight not only of the Congregation, but even of the whole Public. In an Article of the Constitutions of the Abbey of Cluny, which Udalric has collected together, it is expressly settled that the persons guilty of the different faults enumerated therein, are 'to be stripped naked in the middle of the next street or public place, so that every person who chooses may see them, and there tied up and lashed *.'

Among the Promoters and Recommenders of nakedness, we must not omit to mention Cardinal Pullus, a person of no less importance than Cardinal Damian, and who, in his life-time, was high Chancellor of the Roman Church: in the Collection of Sentences with which this Cardinal has obliged the World, he gives it as his opinion, that the very nakedness of the Penitent, is a considerable increase of his merit †.

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* Pars Cap. III. p. 166.——*Cunctis enim qui videre voluerint, videntibus, & maximè in mediâ plateâ, nudatur, ligatur, & verberatur.*

† To the above dissertation on the propereſt plight for receiving flagellations, another, no less

intereſting, might be added, viz. which are the fitteſt inſtruments for inflicting them? Indeed, an infinite variety of inſtruments have been uſed for that purpoſe, whether they were contrived at leiſure by the ingenious perſons who were to uſe them, or were ſuddenly found out, from the ſpur of ſome urgent occaſion. Incenſed Pedants, who could not quickly enough find their uſual inſtrument of diſcipline, have frequently uſed their hat, their towel, or, in general, the firſt things they laid their hands upon. I once ſaw a Gentleman flagellate a ſaucy young fiſh-women, with all the flounders in her baſket. Among Saints, ſome, like Dominic the *Cuiraſſed*, have uſed beſoms: others, like St. Dominic the Founder of the Dominican Order, have uſed iron chains; others, like Gualbert, have employed knotted leather-thongs; others have uſed nettles, and others thiſtles. A certain Saint, as I have read in the Golden Legend, had no *diſcipline* of his own, but conſtantly took, to diſcipline himſelf with, the very firſt thing that came under his hand, ſuch as the tongs for the fire, or the like. St. Bridget, as I have read in the ſame book, diſciplined herſelf with a bunch of keys; a certain Lady, who hath been mentioned in a former place, uſed a bunch of feathers for the ſame purpoſe; and laſtly, Sancho did things with much more ſimplicity, and flagellated himſelf with the palms of his hands.

CHAP. XVI.

Confeſſors at length aſſume to themſelves a kind of flagellatory power over their Penitents. The abuſes that ariſe from it.

THE ſubmiſſion of Sovereigns to receive diſciplines from the hands of their Confeſſors, together with the accounts of ſuch diſciplines, which, though they might not always be true, were induſtriouſly circulated in Public, helped much, without doubt, to increaſe the good opinion which people entertained of the merit of flagellations, as well as to ſtrengthen the power of Confeſſors in general. In fact the latter, from preſcribing Diſciplines, ſoon paſſed to inflicting them upon their penitents with their own hands; and, without loſs of time, converted this newly-aſſumed authority into an expreſs kind of privilege, to which it was a moſt meritorious act, on the part of penitents, readily to ſubmit. On this occaſion, I ſhall again quote the old French

Book, mentioned in p. 218; which, though it be only a Romance, may ſerve to ſhew the opinions generally entertained by people, during the times in which it was written. 'If 'you are eſtranged from our Lord's love, you 'cannot be reconciled to him, unleſs by the 'three following means: Firſt, by confeſſion 'of mouth; ſecondly, by a contrition of 'heart; thirdly, by works of alms and cha-'rity. Now, go and make a confeſſion in that 'manner, and receive diſcipline from the 'hands of thy Confeſſors; for it is the ſign 'of merit.'

The power of Confeſſors of *diſciplining* their penitents, became in proceſs of time ſo generally acknowledged, that it obtained even with reſpect to perſons who made profeſſion of the Eccleſiaſtical life, and ſuperſeded the laws that had been made againſt thoſe who ſhould ſtrike an Eccleſiaſtic. To this an alluſion is made, in the lines of that Poet of the middle age, who has put the *Summula* of St. Raymund into Latin verſes. 'You are 'guilty of ſacrilege if you have violated holy 'things, if you have ſtruck a perſon in reli-'gious Orders, or of the Clergy; unleſs it 'be a holy beating, ſuch as is performed by 'a Teacher with reſpect to his Diſciple, or a'

'Confeſſor with reſpect to a perſon who con-
'feſſes his ſins *.'

Attempts were, however, made to put a ſtop to theſe practices of Prieſts and Confeſſors; and ſo early as under Pope Adrian I. who was raiſed to the Purple in the year 772 (which by the by ſhews that the power aſſumed by Confeſſors, was pretty ancient) a regulation was made to forbid Confeſſors to beat their Penitents. 'The Biſhop (it is ſaid in the 'Epitome of Maxims and Canons) the Prieſt, 'and the Deacon, muſt not beat thoſe who 'have ſinned †.' But this regulation proved uſeleſs: the whole tribe of Prieſts, as well as the firſt Dignitaries of the Church, nevertheleſs continued to preach up the prerogatives of Confeſſors and the merit of flagellations; and Cardinal Pullus, that Chancellor of the Roman Church who has been mentioned in the foregoing Chapter, did not ſcruple to declare, that the nakedneſs of the Penitent, and his ſituation at the feet of his Confeſſor, were

* *Es vir ſacrilegus ſi res ſacras violaſti,*
Si percuſſiſti perſonam religioſam,
Vel quem de Clero; niſi percuſſio ſancta,
Doctor diſcipulum, Confeſſor probatum fatentem.

† Cap. XV. *Epiſcopus, Preſbyter & Diaconus, peccantes fideles diverberare non debeant.*

additional merits in him in the eye of God, as being additional tokens of his humility *.

All theſe different practices of ſtripping and flagellating Devotees and Penitents, at length gave riſe to abuſes of a very ſerious nature; inſtances of which take place, we may ſay, every day. Numbers of Confeſſors, in proceſs of time, have made ſuch religious acts as had been introduced with a view to mortification, ſerve to gratify their own luſt and wantonneſs. They have tried to inculcate the ſame notions, as to the merit of flagellations, into the minds of their Devotees of the other ſex, as they had brought even Kings and Princes to entertain; and at laſt have made it a practice to inflict ſuch corrections on their female Penitents, and under that pretence, to take ſuch liberties with them, as the bleſſed St. Benedict, St. Francis, St. Dominic, and St. Loyola, had not certainly given them the example of.

Among the many inſtances that might be recited of the abuſes here alluded to, it will ſuffice to produce that of a Man who wore a

* *Card. Pulli* ſententiarum *L. vii. Cap.* 3. *p.* 220. *Eſt ergo ſatisfactio quædam, aſpera tamen, ſed Deo tanto gratior quanto humilior, cum quilibet ſacerdotis proſtratus ad pedes, ſe cædendum virgis exhibet nudum.*

hood, and was girt with a cord (a *Cordelier* or *Franciſcan*) who lived about the year 1566. This Man's name was Cornelius Adriaſem; he was a native of Dort, and belonged to a Convent in Bruges, and was a moſt violent preacher againſt the Heretics, called *Gueux*. He had found means to perſuade a certain number of Women, both married and unmarried, to promiſe him implicit obedience, by certain oaths he made them take for that purpoſe, and under the ſpecious pretence of greater piety. Theſe Women he did not indeed laſh with harſh and knotted cords, but he uſed gently to rub their bare thighs and poſteriors, with willow or birch rods *.

* I have in the courſe of this Work frequently produced the original words of the Authors who are quoted therein, as I thought this precaution would not be diſagreeable to the critical part of Readers. In regard to the Abbé Boileau himſelf, no occaſion has offered of doing the ſame, as he ſeldom introduces any fact, in his Book, but in the words of the Writer from whom he borrows it: however, as in relating the above ſtory, which he has extracted from a much longer account, he ſpeaks for himſelf, I ſhall take this opportunity of introducing him perſonally to the Reader, and of tranſcribing his own words, in

In order to ſhew how common the above practices were become, as well as to entertain the Reader, I ſhall conclude this Chapter with the following ſtory, which is to be found in *Scot's* Book, entitled, *Menſa Philoſophica*. A Woman, ſays Scot, who was gone to make her confeſſion, had been ſecretly followed by her huſband, who was jealous of her; and he had hid himſelf in ſome place in the Church, whence he might ſpy her; but as ſoon as he ſaw her led behind the altar by the Prieſt, in order to be flagellated, he made his appearance, objected that ſhe was too tender to bear a flagellation, and offered to receive it in her ſtead. This propoſal the Wife greatly applauded; and the Man had no ſooner placed himſelf upon his knees, than ſhe exclaimed,

order to enable the Reader to judge of the goodneſs of his Latin.——'*Inter exempla tam infauſtæ notitiæ non pertimeſcam Hiſtoriam narrare hominis cucullati et cordigeri, Conventus Brugenſis, anno circiter MDLXVI, cui nomen erat Cornelius Adrianſem, origine Dordracenſis, adverſus hæreticos Guezios ſtomachoſiſſimi concionatoris, qui puellas ſeu fœminas quaſdam ſacramento fidelitatis & obedientiæ ſibi adſtrictas, & ſpecie pietatis devotas, non quidem aſperatis & nodoſis funibus verberabat, ſed nudata earum femora & nates, inhoneſtis vibicibus rorantes, betuleis aut vimineis virgis, ictibus molliter inflictis, perfricabat.*'

'Now, my Father, lay on luſtily, for I am a 'great Sinner *.'

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* '*Domine, tota tenera eſt; ego pro ipſâ recipio diſciplinam: quo flectente genua dixit Mulier, Percute fortiter, Domine, quia magna peccatrix ſum.*'—*Men. Phil.* Lib. iv. Cap. 18.

The above ſtory, related by Scot, together with the words he ſuppoſes to have been ſaid by the Woman, have ſince been turned into a French epigram, which I have met with in the *Menagiana*, as well as in two or three different collections of French Poetry.

Une femme ſe confeſſa,
Le Confeſſeur à la ſourdine
Derriere l'Autel la trouſſa
Pour lui donner la diſcipline.
L'époux non loin d'elle caché
De miſéricorde touché
Offrit pour elle dos & feſſe.
La femme y conſentit dabord,
Je ſens, dit-elle, ma foibleſſe,
Mon mari ſans doute eſt plus fort;
Sus donc, mon Pere, touchez fort,
Car je ſuis grande pechereſſe.

The abovementioned flagellating practices of Confeſſors, are alluded to in ſeveral Books; and Confeſſors are expreſsly charged with them by ſeveral Writers, beſides what is ſaid above. Among

others, Sanlec, a *bel Eſprit* who lived under Lewis the Fourteenth, and wrote ſeveral Satires, in one of them, which he has intitled *The Directors*, has made the above practices of Confeſſors, or Directors, the ſubject of his animadverſion. 'This 'zealous Confeſſor (ſays Sanlec) who, for every 'trifling fault, with a diſcipline in his hand, fuſ-'tigated his female Devotees.'

Ce Confeſſeur zèlé, qui, pour les moindres fautes,
La diſcipline en main fuſtigeoit ſes Dévotes.

Among the number of thoſe who have adminiſtered diſciplines of the kind here alluded to, a few have been ſo happy as to acquire much more reputation than the others. Among theſe muſt be ranked the abovementioned Cornelius Adriaſem, whoſe caſe is related at length by Meteren, in his Latin Hiſtory of the Netherlands, publiſhed in the year 1568, from which the Abbé Boileau has extracted it. This Cornelius Adriaſem (or Adrianſen) was a loud declaimer againſt the faction called the *Gueux*, whom the Abbé calls Hereticks, but who were, in fact, the ſame party who oppoſed the Spaniſh Government in thoſe parts, and afterwards ſucceeded in overthrowing it, and founded the Republic of Holland. As the above Reverend Father had thus ſtrongly oppoſed a powerful, numerous, as well as incenſed party, in the State and the Church, the diſcovery that was made of his frailties, afforded matter of much

triumph, as well as made a great noiſe, and ſupplied his enemies with an opportunity of inveighing afterwards againſt him, which they did not neglect, as we may conclude from Meteren's account of the fact, which he relates at great length, and with much ſpleen and dulneſs. However, new names were coined to expreſs that particular kind of diſcipline which Cornelius Adrianſen uſed to ſerve upon his female penitents: thoſe who loved to deduce their new appellations of things from Greek words, called it the *Gynopygian* diſcipline; and others, who, proceeding upon a more liberal plan, thought that the proper appellation of any particular practice, ought to be derived from the name of ſome perſon who has eminently diſtinguiſhed himſelf by it, called the diſcipline in queſtion, from the name of the above Gentleman, the *Cornelian* diſcipline: a name by which it ſtill continues to be expreſſed in thoſe quarters.

The deviſers of the appellation juſt now mentioned, did not however mean to ſay, that Cornelius Adrianſen was the inventor of the above kind of diſcipline, or even the firſt man of note who had recourſe to it: or, if ſuch was their meaning, they were wrong. In fact, Abelard, who certainly is a well-known character, alſo uſed to adminiſter flagellatory corrections to his pupil Heloiſa, whoſe name is not leſs illuſtrious than that of her Maſter. The Canon Fulbert, as every one

knows, had intruſted him with the care of her education; and as the Canon was very deſirous ſhe ſhould become diſtinguiſhed by her learning, he had permitted him to correct her, whenever ſhe ſhould fail in performing her duty. Abelard, in time, made an extenſive uſe of the power that had thus been conferred upon him; though, to ſay the truth (and as himſelf confeſſes in one of thoſe Latin letters he wrote to her after their ſeparation) he, at laſt, did not ſo much uſe it, when ſhe had been guilty of faults, as when ſhe too obſtinately refuſed to commit any.—*Sed & te nolentem* (ſays he) *ſæpiùs minis atque flagellis ad conſenſum trahebam.*

As Cornelius Adrianſen was preceded in the career we mention, by a character as diſtinguiſhed as himſelf, ſo has he been followed by another who was no leſs ſo, and who made no leſs noiſe in the world. The perſon I mean, is the celebrated Jeſuit, Father Girard; and among the number of his pupils or penitents, was Miſs *Cadiere*, who certainly may alſo be looked upon as an illuſtrious character. The Cornelian diſciplines which the Father uſed to ſerve upon her, were one of the ſubjects of the public complaint ſhe afterwards preferred againſt him, about the year 1730; which gave riſe to a criminal lawſuit or proſecution that made a prodigious noiſe, as it was thought to be a kind of ſtroke levelled at

the whole Society of the Jeſuits, and was known to have been ſtirred up by Monks belonging to Orders who were at open enmity with them. The *Demoiſelle Cadiere* likewiſe brought againſt Father Girard a charge of ſorcery, and of having bewitched her; in order, no doubt, to apologize for her having peaceably ſubmitted to the licentious actions of which ſhe accuſed the Father, as well as to thoſe diſciplines with which ſhe reproached him, which ſhe circumſtantially deſcribed in the original complaint, or charge, which ſhe preferred againſt him; for Judges are perſons who will not underſtand things by half words; one muſt ſpeak plain to them, and call every thing by its proper name.

Among thoſe who have diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the ſame career of flagellation, Readers (I mean thoſe who poſſeſs ſome patriotiſm and love of their Country) will, no doubt, be much pleaſed to find one who belonged to this Nation; I mean to ſpeak of the Reverend Zachary Crofton, Curate of St. *Botolph's*, *Aldgate*, who, on a certain occaſion, ſerved a Cornelian diſcipline upon his Chambermaid, for which ſhe afterwards ſued him at Weſtminſter.

The aforeſaid Zachary Crofton, as Biſhop Kennet relates in his Chronicle, from Dr. Calamy's notes, was formerly a Curate at Wrenbury, in Cheſhire (it was a little before the Reſtoration)

and he uſed to engage with much warmth in the religious and political quarrels of his times: his refuſal to take the *engagement*, and endeavours to diſſuade others from taking it, cauſed him to be diſmiſſed from his place. He was, however, afterwards provided with the Curacy of St. Botolph's, Aldgate; but as his turn for religious and political quarrels ſtill prevailed, and he had written ſeveral pamphlets, both Engliſh and Latin, about the affairs of thoſe times, he was ſent to the Tower, and deprived of his Curacy: he was afterwards caſt into priſon likewiſe in his own County, and when he procured his liberty, ſet up a Grocer's ſhop. While he was in the above Pariſh of St. Botolph, 'he gave,' as Dr. Calamy relates, 'the correction of a ſchool-boy to his ſervant-maid,' for which ſhe proſecuted him in Weſtminſter-hall. This fact the Doctor relates as an inſtance of the many ſcrapes into which Zachary Crofton's warm and zealous temper brought him; and he adds that, on the laſt mentioned occaſion, 'he was bold to print his defence.'——Indeed this fact of Parſon Crofton's undauntedly appealing to the Public in print concerning the lawfulneſs of the flagellation he had performed, places him, notwithſtanding what Dr. Calamy may add as to the mediocrity of his parts, at leaſt upon a level with the Geniuſes abovementioned, as well as any other of the kind

that may be named, and cannot fail for ever to ſecure him a place among the moſt illuſtrious Flagellators.

In fine, to this liſt of the perſons who have diſtinguiſhed themſelves by the flagellations they have atchieved, I think I cannot avoid adding that Lady, mentioned by Brantôme, who (perhaps as an exerciſe conducive to her health) took great delight in performing corrections of this kind, with her own hands. This Lady, who was moreover a very great Lady, would often, as Brantôme relates, cauſe the Ladies of her Houſhold to ſtrip themſelves, and then amuſe herſelf in giving them ſlaps upon their poſteriors, pretty luſtily laid on: with reſpect to thoſe Ladies who had committed faults, ſhe made uſe of good rods; and in general, ſhe uſed leſs or greater ſeverity, according (Brantôme ſays) as ſhe propoſed to make them either laugh or cry. The following are Brantôme's own words.

' *J'ai ouï parler d'une grande Dame de par le*
' *monde, voire grandiſſime, qui ne ſe contentant pas de*
' *laſciveté naturelle, & étant mariée & étant Veuve,*
' *pour la provoquer & exciter davantage, elle faiſoit*
' *d pouiller ſes Dames & filles, je dis les plus belles,*
' *& ſe delectoit fort à les voir, & puis elle les battoit*
' *du plat de la main ſur les feſſes, avec de grandes*
' *clacquades & blamuſes aſſez rudes; & les filles qui*
' *avoient delinqué en quelques choſe, avec de bonnes*
' *verges.——Autres fois, ſans les depouiller, les faiſoit trouſſer en robes, car pour lors elles ne portoient*

' point de calecons, & les clacquettoit ſur les feſſes, ſe-
' lon le ſujet qu'elles lui en donnoient, pour les faire ou
' rire, ou pleurer.'

It is no eaſy matter to point out what preciſe views the Lady in queſtion had, when ſhe ſerved the abovementioned flagellations. Brantôme, who had much travelled, and was grown much acquainted with the wickedneſs of the world, inſinuates that ſhe was actuated by motives of rather a wanton kind; but ſince it is extremely difficult to believe that thoughts like thoſe Brantôme ſuppoſes, could be entertained, I ſhall not ſay by a Lady, but by a perſon of the high rank of the Lady in queſtion, I will endeavour to account for her conduct in a different manner; and I ſhall conſider my time as exceedingly well employed, if I can clear her from the aſperſion thrown upon her by the above Gentleman.

In the firſt place, it is very poſſible, that (as hath been above inſinuated) ſhe conſidered the flagellations in queſtion as an exerciſe advantageous to her health: and Phyſicians have often made worſe preſcriptions.

In the ſecond place, ſhe might, without looking farther, be prompted by a deſire of doing juſtice; for Brantome makes expreſs mention of Ladies who had committed faults: now, ſuch a conduct on the part of the Lady we ſpeak of, would

reflect much honour upon her, and shew that she did not disdain to superintend her own family.

Perhaps also it might be, that the abovementioned flagellations were of the same jocular kind merely, with those which, as hath been related in the sixth Chapter of this Book, were in use in Rome, and were often practised in the presence of the Emperor Claudius, and sometimes upon that Emperor himself. Nor is the circumstance mentioned by Brantome, of the high Lady in question sometimes using pretty great severity, contrary to this supposition: it is a well-known fact that Great people, when they do their inferiors the honour to play with them, will often carry the joke too far, farther than the latter have a liking to: jokes or tricks of this kind, gave rise to the French common saying, *Jeux de Princes, qui plaisent à ceux qui les font.* 'Tricks of Princes, 'which please those *(only)* by whom they are 'played.'

In fine, since the flagellations in question were often carried on, as appears from the account of Brantome himself, in a manner really very jocular, even so much so as to make the Ladies laugh, it is natural to suppose that they were then executed by the common and perfectly free consent of the whole company. The Ladies possibly proposed to represent among themselves the festival of the *Lupercalia*, which has been described in a

former Chapter: intending to repreſent it as it was performed in the times of Pope Gelaſius, they ſtripped themſelves in the manner Brantome has related: the great Lady, in conſideration of her high birth and ſtation, was permitted to fill the part of the *Lupercus*; the wielding of the *diſcipline* was of courſe excluſively left to her: nor was this peculiar advantage which the other Ladies granted her, in that kind of farce they agreed to act among themſelves, materially different from the favour which certain Clergymen uſed to grant to their Biſhop, when they played at Whiſt with him, who allowed his Lordſhip the privilege of naming the trump.

In regard to the Gentlemen who have been mentioned above, it is however pretty evident that (owing, no doubt, to the good-nature inherent in their ſex) they uſed no kind of ſeverity in thoſe diſciplines they uſed to beſtow; except indeed Parſon Crofton, who, from the circumſtance of his writing a pamphlet, and a quarto pamphlet too, in defence of the flagellation he had performed, ſeems really to have been in earneſt, both when he planned, and when he ſerved it.

Thus Abelard, in one of the abovementioned Letters he wrote to his Pupil, while ſhe lived retired in the Monaſtery of *Paraclet*, expreſsly ſays that the blows he gave her, were ſuch blows as friendſhip alone, not anger, ſuggeſted: he even

adds that their ſweetneſs ſurpaſſed that of the ſweeteſt perfumes,——*verbera quandoque dabat amor, non furor, gratia, non ira, quæ omnium unguentorum ſuavitatem tranſcenderent.*

Father Girard, as is evident from the whole tenor of the declaration of Miſs Cadiere herſelf, had as little intention as Abelard, to do any kind of injury to his pupil or penitent; and Cornelius Adrianſen, as appears from Meteren's account, uſed to proceed with the ſame caution and tenderneſs for his diſciples, as the two above-mentioned gentlemen, and contented himſelf, as the Abbé Boileau obſerves, with gently rubbing them with his inſtruments of diſcipline;—*molliter perfricabat.*

That Confeſſors ſhould contract ſentiments of friendſhip for their female penitents, like thoſe mentioned by Abelard, is however nowiſe ſurprizing. La Fontaine ſays, that

Tout homme eſt homme, & les Moines ſur tous.

"Every Man is a Man, and Monks above all "others." He might at leaſt have ſaid. "Every "Man is a Man, and Monks as well as others;" and to this have added, that their virtue, eſpecially that of Confeſſors, is expoſed to dangers of a peculiar kind. In fact, the obligation which thoſe who perform that office are under, to hear, with ſeeming indifference, the long confeſſions of Women of every age, who frequently enter

into numerous particulars concerning the ſins which they have either committed, or had diſtant wiſhes to commit, is no very eaſy taſk for Men who, as hath juſt now been obſerved, are after all nothing but Men; and they are, under ſuch circumſtances, frequently agitated by thoughts not very conſonant with the apparent gravity and ſanctity of their looks. Nay, raiſing ſuch thoughts in them, and in general creating ſentiments of love in their Confeſſors, are deſigns which numbers of female penitents, who at no time entirely ceaſe being actuated by womaniſh views, expreſly entertain, notwithſtanding the apparent ingenuity of their confeſſions, and in which they but too often ſucceed, to their own, and their frail Confeſſors, coſt. Thus, it appears from Miſs Cadiere's declarations, that ſhe had of herſelf aimed at making the conqueſt of Father Girard, though a Man paſt fifty years of age, being induced to it, by his great reputation both as a Preacher and a Man of parts; and ſhe expreſsly confeſſed that ſhe had for a long while been making intereſt to be admitted into the number of his penitents.

Indeed, theſe dangers to which Confeſſors are expoſed from their continual and confidential intercourſe with the Sex, (for, to the praiſe of Women be it ſpoken, they are infinitely more exact than Men in making their confeſſions) are much

taken notice of in the books in which directions are given to such Priests as are designed for that employment; and they are warned against nothing so much as an inclination to hear preferably the confessions of the other Sex.———St. Charles Borrommee, as I have read in one of those books, prescribed to Confessors to have all the doors wide open, when they heard the confession of a Woman; and he had supplied them with a set of passages from Psalms, such as, *Cor mundum crea in me Domine*, and the like, which he advised them to have pasted on some conspicuous place within their sight, and which were to serve them as ejaculatory exclamations by which to vent the wicked thoughts with which they might feel themselves agitated, and as kinds of *Abracadabras*, or *Retrò Satanas*, to apply to, whenever they should find themselves on the point of being overcome by some too sudden temptation.

Numbers of Confessors however, whether it was that they had forgotten to supply themselves with the passages recommended by St. Charles Borommee, or that those passages really proved ineffectual in those instants in which they were intended to be useful, have, at different times, formed serious designs upon the chastity of their penitents; and the singular situation in which they were placed, both with respect to the Public, and to their penitents themselves, with

whom, changing the grave ſupercilious Confeſſor into the wanton lover, was no eaſy tranſition, have led them to uſe expedients of rather ſingular kinds, to attain their ends. Some, like Robert d'*Arbriſſel*, (and the ſame has been ſaid of Adhelm, an Engliſh Saint who lived before the Conqueſt) have induced young Women to lie with them in the ſame beds, giving them to underſtand, that, if they could prove ſuperior to every temptation, and riſe from bed as they went to it, it would be in the higheſt degree meritorious. Others, Menas for inſtance, a Spaniſh Monk whoſe caſe was quoted in the proceedings againſt Father Girard, perſuaded young Women to live with him in a kind of holy conjugal union, which he deſcribed to them, but which did not however end, at laſt, in that intellectual manner which the Father had promiſed. Others have perſuaded Women that the works of matrimony were no leſs liable to pay tithes than the fruits of the earth, and have received theſe tithes accordingly. This ſcheme was, it is ſaid, contrived by the Fryars of a certain Convent in a ſmall Town in Spain, and La Fontaine has made it the ſubject of one of his *Tales*, which is entitled *The Cordeliers of Catalonia*, in which he deſcribes with much humour the great punctuality of the Ladies in that Town, in diſcharging their debts to the Fathers, and the vaſt buſineſs that was

in conſequence, carried on in the Convent of the latter.

Laſtly, other Confeſſors have had recourſe to their power of flagellation, as an excellent expedient for preparing the ſucceſs of their ſchemes, and preventing the firſt ſuſpicions which their penitents might entertain of their views.

In order the better to remove the ſcruples which the modeſty of theſe latter cauſed them at firſt to oppoſe, they uſed to repreſent to them, that our firſt Parents were naked in the garden of Eden; they moreover aſked, whether people muſt not be naked, when they are chriſtened; and ſhall not they likewiſe be ſo, on the day of Reſurrection? Nay, others have made ſuch a ſtate of nakedneſs, on the part of their penitents, a matter of expreſs duty, and have ſupported this doctrine, as the Author of the *Apologie pour Hérodote* relates, by quoting the paſſage of Jeſus Chriſt, in which he ſays, *Go, and ſhew thyſelf to the Prieſt.*

However, inſtances of the wantonneſs of Prieſts like this latter, in which a ſerious uſe was made of paſſages from the Books on which Religion is grounded, in order to forward ſchemes of a guilty nature, certainly cannot, in whatever light the ſubject be conſidered, admit of any juſtification: though on the other hand, when the na-

tional calamities produced by ſophiſms of this kind and the arts of Men of the ſame cloth, are conſidered, one cannot help wiſhing that they had conſtantly employed both theſe ſophiſms and their artifices in purſuits like thoſe above mentioned, and that, enſnaring a few female penitents (who were not perhaps, after all, extremely unwilling to be enſnared) and ſerving flagellations, had been the worſt exceſſes they ever had committed.

CHAP. XVII.

The Church at large alſo claims a power of publicly inflicting the diſcipline of flagellation. Inſtances of Kings and Princes who have ſubmitted to it.

AS it was the conſtant practice of Prieſts and Confeſſors, to preſcribe flagellation as a part of the *ſatisfaction* that was owing for committed ſins, the opinion became at laſt to be eſtabliſhed, that, receiving this kind of correction, was not only an uſeful, but even an indiſpenſible act of ſubmiſſion: without it penitence was thought to be a body without a ſoul; nor could there be any ſuch thing as true repentance. Hence the Church itſelf at large, became alſo in time to claim a power of impoſing caſtigations of the kind we mention, upon naked ſinners; and a flagellation publicly ſubmitted to, has been made one of the eſſential ceremonies to be gone through, for obtaining the ineſtimable advantage of the repeal of a ſentence of excommunication:

the Roman Ritual expreſsly mentioning and requiring this teſt of the culprit's contrition.

Theſe flagellatory claims and practices of the Weſtern Chriſtian Church, are, we may obſerve, one of the objections made againſt it by the Greek, or Eaſtern, Chriſtians, as the learned M. Cotelier, a Doctor of the Sorbonne, obſerves in his *Monuments of the Greek Church:* 'When they abſolve a perſon from 'his excommunication (they ſay) he is ſtrip-'ped down to the waiſt, and they laſh him 'with a ſcourge on that part which is bare, 'and then abſolve him, as being forgiven his 'his ſin *.'

Among the different inſtances of diſciplines publicly inflicted by the Church, upon independent Princes, we may mention that which was impoſed upon Giles, Count of the *Venaiſſin* County, near Avignon. This Count having cauſed the Curate of a certain Pariſh to be buried alive, who had refuſed to bury the body of a poor Man, till the uſual fees were paid, drew upon himſelf the wrath of the Pope, who fulminated againſt him a ſentence of excommunication. And in order to procure the repeal of it, he found it neceſſary

* Ἀφορισμῷ τινὰ λύοντες, γυμνοῦσιν αὐτὸν ἕως ὀσφύος, καὶ μαστίζοντες ἐπὶ γυμνοῖς λώροις, ἀπολύουσιν ὡς συγκεχωρημένον ἐνθένδε.

to ſubmit to a flagellation, which was inflicted upon him before the gate of the Cathedral Church of Avignon.

But no fact can be mentioned more ſtriking, and more capable of having gratified the pride of the Clergy, at the time, than that of Henry II. King of England. This Prince having, by a few haſty angry words he uttered on a certain occaſion, been the cauſe of the aſſaſſination of Thomas Becket, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, expreſſed afterwards the greateſt ſorrow for his imprudence: but neither the Prieſts nor the Nation would take his word on that account: they only gave credit to the reality of his repentance, when he had ſubmitted to the all-purifying trial of a flagellation; and in order the more completely to remove all doubts in that reſpect, he went through it publicly. The following is the account which Matthew Paris, a Writer who lived about thoſe times, has given of the tranſaction. 'But as the ſlaughterers of this 'glorious Martyr had taken an opportunity 'to ſlay him from a few words the King had 'uttered rather imprudently, the King aſked 'abſolution from the Biſhops who were pre'ſent at the ceremony, and ſubjecting his bare 'ſkin to the diſcipline of rods, received four

'or five ſtripes from every one of the religi-
'ous perſons, a multitude of whom had aſ-
'ſembled *.'

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* . . . . *Carnemque ſuam nudam diſciplinæ virgarum ſupponens, à ſingulis viris religioſis, quorum multitudo magna convenerat, ictus ternos vel quinos accepit.*

Among the inſtances of Sovereigns who have been publickly flagellated, may alſo be reckoned that of Raymond, Count of Toulouſe, whoſe Sovereignty extended over a very conſiderable part of the South of France. Having given protection in his dominions to the Sect called the *Albigenſes*, Innocent III. the moſt haughty Pope that ever filled the Papal Chair, publiſhed a Croiſade againſt him; his dominions were in conſequence ſeized, nor could he ſucceed to have them reſtored to him, before he had ſubmitted to receive diſcipline from the hands of the Legate of the Pope, who ſtripped him naked to the waiſt, at the door of the Church, and drove him up to the altar in that ſituation, all the while beating him with rods.

With reſpect to the diſcipline undergone by King Henry II. though he may be ſaid to have freely ſubmitted to it, yet it did not, at bottom,

materially differ from that impoſed upon Raymond, Count of Toulouſe. This Prince had, no doubt, too much underſtanding to ſubmit to a ceremony of this kind, out of regard for ſome prevailing notion of the vulgar merely, and much leſs out of any ſuperſtition of his own; but he thought it neceſſary to perform ſome remarkable religious act of that ſort, for ſilencing at once the clamours of the Prieſts, the whole body of whom, incenſed by the death of Becket, were every where endeavouring to ſpirit up the people to a revolt; and he may with truth be ſaid to have ſubmitted to being flagellated, in order to preſerve his kingdom: which may ſerve as a proof, among others, that it is a pleaſing thing to be a King.

The laſt inſtance of a Sovereign who received a correction from the Church, was that of Henry IV. of France, when he was abſolved of his excommunication and hereſy; and the diſcipline undergone by that Prince ſupplies the ſolution for an intereſting queſtion, that may be added to thoſe above diſcuſſed; viz. Which is the moſt comfortable manner of receiving a flagellation?—It is by Proxy.—This was the manner in which the King we ſpeak of, ſuffered the diſcipline which the Church inflicted upon him. His proxies were Meſſ. D'Oſſat, and Du Perron, who were afterwards made Cardinals. During the performing of the ceremony of the King's abſolution, and

while the Choriſters were ſinging the Pſalm *Miſerere mei Deus*, the Pope, at every verſe, beat, with a rod on the ſhoulders of each of the two proxies; which ſhews how eſſential a part of the ceremony of an abſolution, flagellations have been thought to be; and alſo, how ſtrictly the Church of Rome adheres to ſuch forms as are preſcribed by its Ritual, or, by the *Pontifical*, as it is called. Expreſs mention was moreover made of the above beating, in the written proceſs that was drawn of the tranſaction. *Dominus Papa verberabat & percutiebat humeros Procuratorum, & cujuſlibet ipſorum, virgâ quam in manibus habebat.*

As a farther indulgence to the King who was thus diſciplined by proxy, and very likely alſo out of regard for the age in which the ceremony was performed, the two Gentlemen who repreſented him, were ſuffered to keep their coats on, during the operation; and the laſhes ſeem moreover not to have been laid upon them, with any great degree of vigour. However, ſome perſons at the Court of France, either out of envy againſt the two above Gentlemen, on account of the commiſſion with which the King had honoured them, or with a view to divert themſelves, had, it ſeems, circulated a report, that, on the day of the ceremony, the 17th of September 1595, they had been made actually to ſtrip in the Church, and undergo a dreadful flagellation. This report M.

D'Oſſat contradicts in one of his Letters, the collection of which has been printed; and he ſays, that the diſcipline in queſtion was performed to comply with the rules ſet down in the *Pontifical*, but that 'they felt it no more than if it 'had been a fly that had paſſed over them, being 'ſo well coated as they were.'

Very expreſs mention of the above diſcipline was nevertheleſs made, as hath been above obſerved, in the written proceſs drawn on the occaſion; though the French Miniſters would not ſuffer it to be joined with the Bull of abſolution which was ſent to the King for his acceptation, and in which no ſuch account was contained. This, another French Author obſerves, did not prevent the Italians from deriving triumph from the event, and ſaying that the King of France had been diſciplined at Rome.

From the above two inſtances of Henry II. of England, and Henry IV. of France (the authenticity of which is beyond any doubt) we find that two crowned Heads, Kings of the two moſt powerful States in Europe, both of the name of Henry, have publicly ſubmitted to the diſcipline of flagellation, either in their own perſon, or by proxy: the one, to preſerve his Crown; and the other, in order to qualify himſelf for taking poſſeſſion of it. I deſire the judicious Reader to ponder well all theſe facts, and not to charge me with

having chosen too unimportant a subject to treat in this Work.

It may be added, that an instance of a Sovereign submitting to a flagellation, may be seen in our days, at every vacancy of the See of Wurtzburgh; a sovereign Bishoprick in Germany. It is an antient custom in the Chapter of that Church, that the person who has been elected to fill the place of the late Bishop, must, before he can obtain his installation, run the gantlope, naked to the waist, between the Canons, who are formed in two rows, and supplied with rods. Some say this custom was established in order to discourage the German Princes from being Candidates for the above Bishoprick; but perhaps also the Canons who established the same, had no other design than procuring the pleasure to themselves and successors, when they should afterwards see their equal become their Sovereign, of remembering that they had cudgelled him.

Other facts, besides that of Henry the Second, shew that the power of the Clergy was carried as far, at least, in England, as in any other Country. Bishop Goodwin relates, that in the reign of Edward I. Sir Osborn Gifford, of Wiltshire, having assisted in the escape of two Nuns from the Convent of Wilton, John Peckham, who was then Archbishop of Canterbury, made him sub-

mit, before he abſolved him of his excommunication, to be publicly whipped, on three ſucceſſive Sundays, in the Pariſh Church of Wilton, and alſo in the Market and Church of Shaftſbury *.

* See Dr. Berkenhout's *Biographia Litteraria*, Art. *John Peckham*.

CHAP. XVIII.

The glory of flagellations completed: they are made use of for curing heresy.

AMONG all the instances contained in this Book, of the extensive advantages of flagellations, we certainly ought not to omit mentioning the application that has been made of them to the information of Heretics; the holy personages whose office it was to convert them, having frequently recurred to them as an excellent expedient, either for opening the eyes of such as absolutely refused to believe, or for confirming the faith of those who did as yet believe but imperfectly. As one instance of that use of flagellations we speak of, we may mention that of Bonner, Bishop of London, who, though he had, under the reign of Henry VIII. consented to the schism which then took place in the Church, made it his constant practice, under Queen Mary, to fustigate the Protestants with rods with his own hands, at least if we are to cre-

dit the account given by Biſhop Burnet, in his Hiſtory of the Reformation, in England *.

* I do not remember to have met with the above fact in Burnet: Mr. Hume, who alſo mentions it, quotes, it ſeems, another Author: however, Biſhop Burnet relates a fact of much the ſame nature, which is that of Mr. James Bainham, a Gentleman of the Temple, who was accuſed of favouring the new opinions: Chancellor More cauſed him to be fuſtigated in his own (More's) houſe, and thence ſent him to the Tower. The Abbé Boileau, from whoſe text I have really borrowed the inſtance of Biſhop Bonner, had however no occaſion to look out of his own Country, for inſtances of Heretics who have been reformed by flagellations: though, to ſay the truth, that inſtance, together with that of Chancellor More, which is here added to it, are the more intereſting, in that they evince the great merit of flagellations, ſince the Divines of all Countries have alike reſorted to them.

CHAP. XIX.

The ſubject of the merit of flagellations, continued. Holy perſons, though without any public authority, have uſed them occaſionally, in order to give weight to their admonitions.

THE general eſteem for flagellations, which had led people to conſider them as an infallible method of atoning for paſt ſins, alſo induced them to think they would be extremely uſeful to ſtrengthen thoſe admonitions with which it is the duty of good Chriſtians to aſſiſt each other. Hence we find that Saints, who, like other perſons, have been pretty free with their advices to other men, have frequently aſſumed a power to corroborate them by flagellations.

Among thoſe inſtances of corrections beſtowed by Saints upon perſons who did not aſk them for their advice, none can be quoted more remarkable than that of St. Romuald, who, on a certain occaſion, ſeverely flagellated his very Father, whoſe conduct he diſapprov-

ed, as Cardinal Damian relates, who, we may obſerve, greatly approves the action of the Saint. The following is the account given by the Cardinal: 'After he had received permiſſion for that purpoſe from his Superiors, he ſet out upon his intended journey, without either horſe or cart, but only with a ſtick in his hand, and with his feet bare; and, from the remoteſt borders of France, at laſt reached Ravenna. There finding his Father determined to return to the World, he put him in the ſtocks; he tied him with heavy chains, dealt hard blows to him, and continued uſing him with this pious ſeverity, till, by the favour of God, he had brought his ſoul back to a ſtate of ſalvation *.'

To thoſe flagellations beſtowed by Saints upon perſons who did not aſk for them, we may ſafely add thoſe with which they have, at different times, ſerved ſuch Ladies, as, ſmitten with their charms (with the Saints charms, I mean) have ventured to make them propoſals totally inconſiſtent with their virtue. Theſe propoſals the Saints not only conſtantly rejected magnanimouſly, but moreover ſeldom

* . . . . "*In ligno pedes ejus fortiter ſtrinxit, gravibus eum vinculis alligavit, verberibus duris afflixit, & tamdiù corpus ejus piâ ſeveritate perdomuit, donec ejus mentem ad ſalutis ſtatum Deo medente reduxit.*"

diſmiſſed the Ladies who attempted them, without making them feel the points of their diſciplines. This was the manner in which St. Edmund, who was afterwards Biſhop of Canterbury, behaved on an occaſion like thoſe we mention, as the learned Claude Deſpence, a Pariſian Theologian, relates in his Book on *Continence*. St. Edmund, the above Writer ſays, during the time he was purſuing his ſtudies in Paris, was ſolicited by a young Woman to commit with her the ſin of fornication; he thereupon bade her come to his ſtudy, where, after tearing off her clothes, he flagellated her naked, ſo ſeverely, that he covered her whole body with ſtripes *.

Brother Mathew, of Avignon, a Capuchin Friar who lived about the year 1540, and ſpent many years in Corſica with a reputation of ſanctity, gave juſt ſuch another capital inſtance of virtue as that exhibited by St. Edmund. The Saint having been charitably received in a certain Caſtle in Piedmont, where he was then begging about the Country, a young Lady, extremely handſome, and of noble birth, came during the night, ſtripped

* . . . . "*Eam ad muſæum ſuum excivit, ibique ſpoliatam virgis cæcidit, ac nudatum corpus vibicibus conſcribillavit.*"

to her ſhift, to viſit him, in the room that had been aſſigned to him, and approaching the bed in which he was aſleep, ſolicited him to commit the carnal ſin. But the holy Friar, inſtead of anſwering her, 'took up his diſci-'pline, made with ſound and well-knotted 'Spaniſh ſmall cords, and flagellated her ſo 'briſkly upon her thighs, her poſteriors, and 'back, that he not only made her bluſh with 'ſhame, but moreover left upon her ſkin 'numberleſs viſible marks of the lecture he 'gave her *.'

To theſe inſtances of the holy ſeverity with which Saints have treated ſuch Ladies as ventured to make attempts upon their virtue, may be added that of Bernardin of Sienna, according to the account given by Surius; for the virtue of Saints has been expoſed to more dangers than the vulgar think of. 'One 'day (ſays Surius) as Bernardin was gone 'abroad to buy ſome bread, a Woman, the

* Here an opportunity occurs of giving a ſecond ſpecimen of the Latin of the Abbe Boileau; the firſt was produced in p. 232.

. . . . *Eandem flagello nodis aſperato, ex funibus Ibericis compacto, tamdiù diverberavit, totque vibicibus ſulcos ſanguinolentos in femoribus, clunibus, ac ſcapulis diduxit, ut non ſolùm ſuffuſo vi pudoris, verum etiam effuſo vi doloris, ſanguine, fugaverit.*

'Wife of a Citizen of Sienna, called him to
'her houſe: as ſoon as he had got into it, ſhe
'locked the door, and ſaid, Unleſs you now
'let me have my wiſh, I declare I will cover
'you with ſhame, and ſay that you have of-
'fered violence to me. Bernardin, finding
'himſelf drawn into ſuch a dangerous ſitua-
'tion, prayed to God, within himſelf, not to
'forſake him; for he greatly deteſted that
'crime. God did not diſregard his prayer;
'he preſently ſuggeſted to him to tell the
'Woman, that ſince ſhe would abſolutely
'have it ſo, ſhe muſt ſtrip off her clothes.
'To this the Woman made no objection;
'and ſhe had ſcarcely done when Bernardin
'exhibited his whip, which he happened to
'have about him, and laying faſt hold of her,
'began to exert it vigorouſly; nor did he
'give up fuſtigating her, till her luſtful ar-
'dour was extinguiſhed. She loved the holy
'Man the better for that afterwards; and ſo
'did her Huſband, when he knew how things
'had been tranſacted *.'

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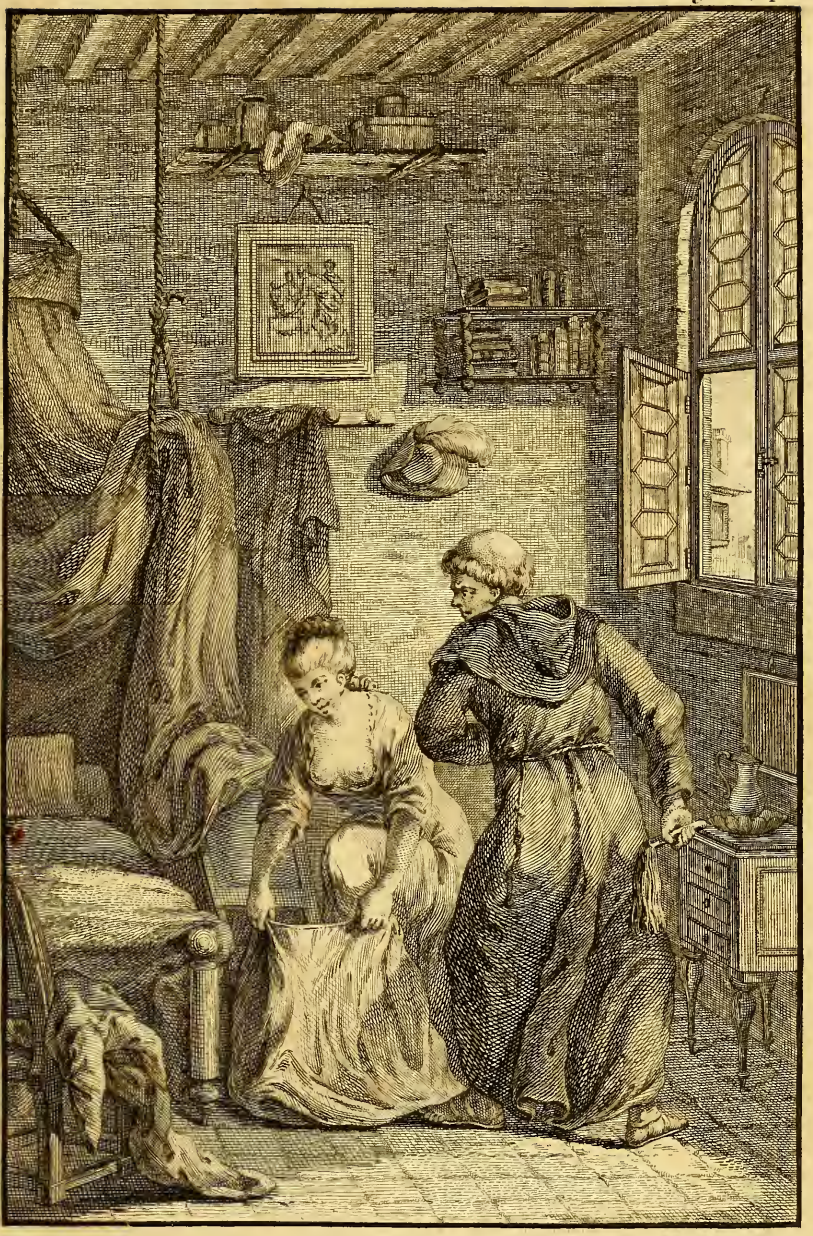
* '... *Eâ auſâ impenſiùs mulier amavit ſanctum virum, itemque maritus ejus, ubi comperit rem ab eo geſtam.*'



The accounts of the advances Ladies have made to the above holy perſonages, muſt certainly give pleaſure to the judicious and ſenſible Reader. Conſidering the opinion entertained by a number of perſons, that Rakes, Coxcombs, and in general the moſt worthleſs part of the male ſex, are commonly the moſt welcome to the favours of the Ladies, I think it reflects much honour upon them all, that ſeveral have gone the greateſt lengths in favour of Saints, and have ſet aſide, out of love for them, thoſe rules of reſerve and decency which Ladies are otherwiſe ſo naturally inclined to reſpect.

In regard to the manner in which the Saints themſelves uſed the Ladies, it is certainly ſomewhat ſingular: however, I muſt poſtpone giving my opinion about it, till a few remarks are made on what more preciſely conſtitutes the ſubject of the foregoing Chapters, which is the great merit and dignity of flagellations. In fact, we find that Great Men, Conquerors, and Kings, have publicly ſubmitted to receiving them; and they have moreover occaſionally inflicted them with their own hands. The Reader may remember the method mentioned at pag. 54. of this Work, which was adopted by the Grecian Heroes, for conveying to their vanquiſhed Opponents, a proper ſenſe of their ſuperiority and indignation: And the ſame magnanimous kind of admonition was

alſo commonly made uſe of by the Romans, in regard to thoſe Kings or Generals whom they had taken in war.

Caligula, a Roman Emperor, did not diſdain, as we read in Suetonius, to uſe the ſame kind of correction, for ſilencing thoſe who happened to make a noiſe near him in the Theatre, and thereby prevented him from attending to the play, and eſpecially to his favourite Actor: the culprit was inſtantly ſtripped; and the Emperor himſelf did the reſt *.

Another Emperor we may name here, viz. Peter the Firſt, of Ruſſia. He frequently condeſcended to beſtow, with his own imperial hands, that kind of Ruſſian flagellation, the *Knout:* at other times, when he could not attend to the buſineſs, he truſted the care of it to his Buffoon Witaſki; who was moreover inveſted with an unlimited power of cudgelling thoſe who came to pay their court to his Czarian Majeſty.

The inſtances of flagellations above produced, have however been confined to actions of Kings, Conquerors, Emperors, and Saints, or to caſes of great emergency, in which whole Nations were

* He puniſhed differently, on a certain occaſion, a Roman Knight who had been guilty of the abovementioned fault. He ſent him, without delay, to carry a letter to Africa; without allowing the time to call at his houſe, and take leave of his family.

concerned, such as the confutations of heresies, and the acquisition of Sovereignties and Kingdoms; but if we descend into the different spheres of private life, we shall find their advantages to have also been very extensive.

Thus, flagellations have been useful to several persons, to make their fortunes. Not to mention here the common story about those who have been flagellated, when Boys, in the room of the Heir to the Crown, we find that the two abovementioned Gentlemen, Messrs. D'Offat and Du Perron, who had had the honour to be disciplined at Rome, on the account of their Royal Master, were afterwards, through his interest, promoted to the high dignity of Cardinals, besides obtaining considerable emoluments.

Others, though they have not gained such substantial advantages as places and pensions, have acquired, which in the opinion of many judicious persons is not less valuable, extensive reputations. Some have acquired such reputations, by the flagellations they have inflicted,—among these are to be ranked Cornelius Adrianſen, Zachary Crofton, and the Lady mentioned by Brantome; and others, by the flagellations they have undergone; such was Titus Oates, so well known in the History of this Country; Bishop Burnet expressly observing, that *this treatment did rather raise Oates's reputation, than sink it.* (A. 1685.)

In the intercourſe of private life, though among perſons diſtinguiſhed from the vulgar, flagellations, being employed as corrections, have alſo proved of very great ſervice.

Thus *bon-mots*, at the expence of other perſons, ſatires, lampoons, have, on numberleſs occaſions, been confuted by flagellations. The Reader ſurely has not forgotten the caſe of Miſs de Limeuil, which has been recited in a former place; nor that of the Court Buffoon which is introduced in the ſame Chapter: and to theſe inſtances might be added that of the Poet Clopinel, the Continuator of that old and celebrated Romance, the *Roman de la Roſe*, who was once very near being flagellated by the Ladies of the Court of France, for his having tried his wit at the expence of the Sex in general, as will be related in another place.

Indeed, to diſcuſs the ſubject of the uſefulneſs of flagellations in a manner adequate to its importance and extenſiveneſs, would lead us into narratives without end: I will therefore, for the ſake of ſhortneſs, content myſelf with adding a few facts to thoſe before recited; as, beſides ſupplying intereſting conſequences, they are ſufficiently authenticated.

The firſt, which is very uſeful to prove that *the ſecrets of Ladies ought never to be betrayed*, is that of the flagellation which was inflicted on a certain Surgeon, who gave a looſe to his tongue, at the

expence of a great Lady to whom his aſſiſtance had been uſeful. The Lady I mean, was Wife to the Prince who became afterwards King of France, under the name of Henry IV: ſhe was herſelf much more nearly allied to the Crown than the Prince her Huſband, and would have mounted the Throne in her own right, if it had not been for the Salic Law. The Princeſs in queſtion was learned, witty, handſome; and ſhe had, in particular, ſuch a fine arm, that it was commonly reported that the Marquis of Canillac, under whoſe guard ſhe lived for a while as ſtate priſoner, fell in love with her on the ſight of it. With theſe qualifications ſhe united gay, amorous diſpoſitions, having even been ſuſpected to love the great Duke of Guiſe, who afterwards nearly poſſeſſed himſelf of the Crown; and ſhe had beſides a turn for political intrigues. During the celebrated civil wars of the *League*, being in the City of Agen, ſhe attempted to make herſelf miſtreſs of the place; but the oppoſite party having found means to raiſe an inſurrection againſt her, ſhe was obliged to fly, accompanied by a body of about 80 *Gentlemen* and 40 ſoldiers: her flight was even ſo precipitate, that ſhe was obliged to get on horſeback without having time to procure a pillion, and in that ſituation ſhe rode a great number of miles, behind a gentleman, being continually expoſed to the greateſt danger, for ſhe paſſed through

a body of a thouſand *Harquebuſiers*, who killed ſeveral of her followers: having at laſt reached a place of ſafety, ſhe borrowed a dry ſhift from a ſervant maid, and thence purſued her journey to the next Town, named *Uſſon*, in *Auvergne*, where ſhe recovered from her fears. However, the great fatigue ſhe had undergone, threw her into a fever that laſted ſeveral days; and moreover, the want of that comfortable accommodation which has been juſt mentioned, a pillion, during her long precipitate flight, had cauſed that part of her body on which ſhe ſat, to be in a ſad condition. A Surgeon was therefore applied to, to procure her relief; and ſuch was the epulotick, ſarcotick, cicatrizive, incarnative, healing, conſolidant, ſanative, nature of the ſalves he employed, that ſhe was cured in a ſhort time; and thus far the Surgeon certainly deſerved her thanks: but as he afterwards indulged himſelf in idle ſtories concerning the cure he had performed, the Princeſs, who heard of it, grew much incenſed againſt him, and cauſed him to be ſerved with that kind of correction which is the ſubject of the preſent diſſertation; that is to ſay, ſhe cauſed him, as Scaliger aſſures, to be ſerved with a flagellation (*elle lui fit donner les étrivieres.*)

Nobody certainly will think that the revenge taken by the above Princeſs was improper; on the contrary, all perſons will agree that it was a

very becoming ſatisfaction, and which ſhe owed to herſelf. It is true, every body looks with deteſtation upon the action of the Princeſs of *Gonzaga*, commonly called *the fair Juliet*, who cauſed a Gentleman to be aſſaſſinated, who had aſſiſted her in making her eſcape from the Town of Fondi, which the celebrated Corſair Barbaroſſa had ſurpriſed during the night, with a view, as it is ſaid, to ſeize upon her perſon, in order to make a preſent of her to the Grand-Signior,—being incenſed at the remembrance of the Gentleman having ſeen her run in her ſhift, acroſs the fields, by moon-light. But without making any remark on the difference of the treatment the above Ladies had recourſe to, it will ſuffice to obſerve that no compariſon can be made between the caſe of the above Gentleman, and that of the Surgeon: the latter had been guilty of an indiſcretion of the blackeſt kind, and which none but a talkative Frenchman could have committed; a thing with which we are not told the Gentleman in queſtion had been charged;—and when we reflect on the enormity of his fault, inſtead of judging that he was too ſeverely uſed, we find he was treated with exceſſive mildneſs.

Indeed, the more we conſider the circumſtances of the whole affair, the more we are affected by the treacherous conduct of that miſerable Surgeon. A wretch whom the Princeſs had diſtin-

guiſhed in ſo flattering a manner from all the other perſons of the ſame profeſſion to whom ſhe might have equally applied,—a ſcoundrel, a raſcal, a fellow, whom ſhe had with ſo much affability acquainted with the diſagreeable ſituation in which ſhe found herſelf, and to whom ſhe had, no doubt, afterwards given ſuch a bountiful and magnificent reward, for ſuch a man to betray the ſecret of the Princeſs, and give a looſe to his prating tongue at her expence! He certainly richly deſerved the flagellation that was beſtowed upon him, and I hope thoſe whoſe duty it was to ſerve him with it, were animated with the ſame ſenſe of his guilt with which this article is written. To this I ſhall add nothing, except that it is very likely that, conformably to what has been obſerved in a former Chapter, the flagellation inflicted on the above Surgeon, or Barber, was inflicted in the Kitchen.

Flagellations have alſo been of ſervice for puniſhing iniquitous Judges. I could wiſh to have many inſtances of that kind to relate: however, I will produce the following one. The ſtory made its appearance in a news-paper, ſome years ago, at the time of the great paper-war that was waged about the American affairs, before the beginning of actual hoſtilities. The Writer who ſent it to the *Gazetteer*, had adopted the ſignature of *A Boſton Saint*; and as it made the whole of his firſt

Eſſay, he had meant it, it ſeems, as a ſort of ſpecimen to introduce himſelf by, to the notice of the Public: he continued to write under that ſignature; and proved equal, at leaſt, to any of thoſe who drew their pens on the occaſion, and even was deciſively ſuperior in point of local knowledge of the Colonies. The Story, which will be inſerted in that Writer's own words, gives a curious inſight into the puritanical manners that prevailed in the New-England Provinces. Now, that they have the ſeat of their Government among them, theſe manners will undergo an alteration: they cannot be much longer the leading faſhion of the Country.

"About forty years ago, many of the Chief Saints, at Boſton, met with a ſad mortification: yea, a mortification in the fleſh.

"Captain St. Loe, Commander of a ſhip of war, then in Boſton Harbour, being aſhore, on a Sunday, was apprehended by the Conſtables, for walking on the Lord's day. On Monday he was carried before a Juſtice of the peace: he was fined; refuſed to pay it; and for his contumacy and contempt of authority, was ſentenced to ſit in the Stocks, one hour, during the time of Change. This ſentence was put in execution, without the leaſt mitigation.

"While the Captain ſat in durance, grave Magiſtrates admoniſhed him to reſpect in future the

wholesome laws of the Province; and Reverend Divines exhorted him ever after to reverence and keep holy the Sabbath-day. At length the hour expired; and the Captain's legs were set at liberty.

"As soon as he was freed, he, with great seeming earnestness, thanked the Magistrates for their correction, and the Clergy for their spiritual advice and consolation; declaring that he was ashamed of his past life; that he was resolved to put off the old Man of Sin, and to put on the new Man of Righteousness; that he should ever pray for them as instruments in the hands of God, of saving his sinful soul.

"This sudden conversion rejoiced the Saints. After clasping their hands, and casting up their eyes to heaven, they embraced their new Convert, and returned thanks for being made the humble means of snatching a soul from perdition. Proud of their success, they fell to exhorting him afresh; and the most zealous invited him to dinner, that they might have full time to complete their work.

"The Captain sucked in the milk of exhortation, as a new-born babe does the milk of the breast. He was as ready to listen as they were to exhort. Never was a Convert more assiduous, while his station in Boston Harbour lasted: he attended every Sabbath-day their most sanctified Meeting-house; never missed a weekly lecture; at

every private Conventicle, he was moſt fervent and loudeſt in prayer. He flattered, and made preſents to the Wives and Daughters of the Godly. In ſhort, all the time he could ſpare from the duties of his ſtation, was ſpent in entertaining them on board his Ship, or in viſiting and praying at their houſes.

" The Saints were delighted with him beyond meaſure. They compared their wooden Stools to the voice of Heaven, and their Sea-convert to St. Paul; who, from their enemy, was become their Doctor.

" Amidſt their mutual happineſs, the mournful time of parting arrived. The Captain received his recall. On this he went round among the Godly, and wept and prayed, aſſuring them he would return, and end his days among his friends in the Lord.

" Till the day of his departure, the time was ſpent in regrets, profeſſions, entertainments, and prayer. On that day, about a dozen of the principal Magiſtrates, including the Select-men, accompanied the Captain to Nantaſket Road, where the Ship lay, with every thing ready for ſailing.

" An elegant dinner was provided for them on board; after which many bowls and bottles were drained. As the blood of the Saints waxed warm, the cruſt of their hypocriſy melted away: their moral ſee-ſaws, and Scripture-texts, gave place to

double-entendres, and wanton ſongs: the Captain encouraged their gaiety; and the whole Ship reſounded with the roar of their merriment.

"Juſt at that time, into the Cabin burſt a body of Sailors, who, to the inexpreſſible horror and amazement of the Saints, pinioned them faſt. Heedleſs of cries and intreaties, they dragged them upon deck, where they were tied up, ſtripped to the buff, and their breeches let down; and the Boatſwain with his Aſſiſtants, armed with dreadful cat-o'-nine-tails provided for the occaſion, adminiſtered unto them the law of Moſes in the moſt energetic manner. Vain were all their prayers, roarings, ſtampings, and curſes: the Captain in the mean time aſſuring them, that it was conſonant to their own doctrine and to Scripture, that the mortification of the fleſh tended towards the ſaving of the Soul, and therefore it would be criminal in him to abate them a ſingle laſh.

"When they had ſuffered the whole of their diſcipline, which had flayed them from the nape of the neck to the hams, the Captain took a polite leave, earneſtly begging them to remember him in their prayers. They were then let down into the boat that was waiting for them: the Crew ſaluted them with three cheers; and Captain St. Loe made ſail. The Boſton Select-men, to this day, when they hear of the above, grin like

infernal Dæmons, out of ſympathy to their predeceſſors *."

Another uſe that has been made of flagellations among polite people, and diſtinguiſhed from the vulgar, has been to repreſs the aſpiring views of rivals who pretended (unjuſtly, as the others thought) to an equality in point of birth, wit, beauty, or other accompliſhments. On this occaſion we might relate the treatment that was inflicted by two Ladies of noble family, near the Town of Saumur, in France, on the daughter of a wealthy Farmer, whoſe beauty had cauſed her to be invited to an entertainment that was given in a neighbouring Caſtle, or Manor: an affair which attracted the notice of the Public, at the time (A. 1730) as we may judge from the account of it being contained in the collection of *Celebrated Cauſes* decided in the French Courts of Law. But our attention is called off by another much more intereſting inſtance of the ſame kind, which happened in the reign of Lewis the Fourteenth, and made a very great noiſe. I mean to ſpeak of the flagellation that was ſerved by the Marchioneſs of Treſnel, on the *Dame*, or Lady, of Liancourt: a fact which by all means deſerves a place in this

* *Gazetteer—Tueſday*, Dec. 20, 1774. The main circumſtances of the ſame fact are alſo to be found in Dr. Burnaby's *Travels through the middle Settlements of North America*, publiſhed in the year 1775.

Chapter, as being in itſelf an extremely illuſtrious inſtance of flagellation. Indeed, one advantage the Author is proud of, which is, that he has inſerted nothing vulgar in this Book, nothing but what is worthy the attention of perſons of taſte and ſentiment.

The Story is as follows. The Lady of Liancourt was originally born of Parents in middling circumſtances. Having had the good luck to marry a rich Merchant, ſhe had addreſs enough to prevail upon him to leave her, at his death, which happened a few years after their marriage, the bulk of his fortune; and, being now a rich, handſome Widow, ſhe married the *Sieur*, or Lord, of Liancourt; a man of birth, whoſe fortune was ſomewhat impaired by his former expenſive way of living. The Lady of Liancourt uſed to reſide, during the ſummer, at the Caſtle, or Eſtate, of her Huſband, near the town of Chaumont: and in the ſame neighbourhood was ſituated the Eſtate of the Marquis of Treſnel. The manner of living of the Lady of Liancourt, together with the reputation of her wit and beauty, excited the jealouſy of the Marchioneſs of Treſnel, who, on account of her birth, conſidered herſelf as being greatly ſuperior to the other: and a ſtrong competition ſoon took place between the two Ladies, which became manifeſted in ſeveral places in a remarkable manner, eſpecially at Church, where the

Marchioneſs went once ſo far as violently to puſh the other Lady from her ſeat: the Lady of Liancourt, on the other hand, was ſaid to have written a copy of verſes againſt the Marchioneſs; and in ſhort, matters were carried to ſuch lengths between them, that the Marchioneſs reſolved to damp at once the pretenſions of her rival, and for that purpoſe applied to that effectual mode of correction which, as hath been ſeen in the courſe of this Book, ſo many great and celebrated perſonages have undergone, namely, a flagellation. Having well laid her ſcheme in that reſpect, and reſolved that her rival ſhould undergo the correction, not by proxy, like King Henry the Fourth, but in her own perſon, the Marchioneſs, one day ſhe knew the Lady of Liancourt was to viſit at a Caſtle a few miles diſtant from her own, got into her coach and ſix, accompanied by four Men behind, and three armed Servants on horſeback; and care had been previouſly taken to lay in a ſtock of good diſciplines, which were placed in the coach-box. Having arrived too late at the place on the highway at which ſhe propoſed to meet her antagoniſt, the Marchioneſs alighted at the houſe of the Curate of the Pariſh, in order to wait for her return, and ſtaid there, under ſome pretence, ſeveral hours, till at laſt a Servant who had been left on the watch, came in haſte, and brought tidings that the Lady Liancourt's coach was in

ſight: the Marchioneſs thereupon got into her coach with the utmoſt ſpeed, and arrived juſt in time to throw herſelf acroſs the way, and ſtop the other Lady; when the Servants, who had been properly directed beforehand, without loſs of time took the latter out of her coach, immediately proceeding to execute the orders they had received: and, from the complaint afterwards preferred by the ſuffering Lady, it really ſeems that they endeavoured to diſcharge their duty in ſuch a manner as might convince their Miſtreſs of their zeal in ſerving her.

The affair ſoon made a great noiſe, and the King, who heard of it, immediately ſent expreſs orders to the Huſbands of the Ladies to take no ſhare in the quarrel. The Lady of Liancourt applied to the ordinary courſe of law, and brought a criminal action againſt the Marchioneſs, before the Parliament of Paris; the conſequence of which was, that the latter was condemned to aſk her pardon in open Court upon her knees, and to pay her about two thouſand pounds damages, beſides being baniſhed from the whole extent of the juriſdiction of the Parliament. The Servants, who are generally very ſeverely dealt with in France, when they ſuffer themſelves to become the inſtruments of the violence of their Maſters, were ſent to the Gallies. And Miſs De Villemartin, who had been co-ſpectatreſs of the

flagellation, in the ſame coach with the Marchioneſs, and had ſhared her triumph, was ſummoned to appear perſonally in Court, there to be *admoniſhed*, and condemned to pay a fine of twenty livres, 'for the bread of the priſoners *.'

That part of the bodies of their enemies, to which Captain St. Loe, and the above-named Marchioneſs, directed the corrections and inſults by which they propoſed to humble them, naturally leads us to remark the oppoſite lights in which that part has been conſidered by Mankind, and to notice the fantaſtical and contradictory diſpoſition of the human mind.

The part we mention, which, to follow the common definition that is given of it, is that part on which Man ſits, is, of itſelf, extremely deſerving of our eſteem. It is, in the firſt place, a characteriſtic part and appendage of Mankind: it is formed by the expanſion of muſcles which, as Anatomiſts inform us, exiſt in no other animal, and are intirely proper to the human ſpecies.

Nor does that part confer upon Man a diſtinction from animals, that is of an honorific kind merely, like the faculty of walking in an erect ſituation, which, as Ovid remarks, enables him to behold the Sun or the Stars, as he goes forward:

* *Cauſes célébres*, Vol. IV.

but, by allowing him to ſit, it enables him to calculate the motions, whether real or apparent, of thoſe ſame Stars, to aſcertain their revolutions, and foreknow their periodical returns. It puts him in a condition to promote the liberal Arts and Sciences, Muſic, Painting, Algebra, Geometry, &c. not to mention the whole tribe of mechanic Arts and manufactures. It even is, by that power of *aſſiduity* (or of being *ſeated*) it confers upon Man, ſo uſeful to the ſtudy of the Law, that it has been looked upon as being no leſs conducive to it than the head itſelf, with which it has, in that reſpect, been expreſsly put upon a par; and it is a common ſaying in the Univerſities abroad, that, in order to ſucceed in that ſtudy, a Man muſt have an *iron head*, and *leaden poſteriors*; to which they add, a *golden purſe*, to buy books with:—*caput ferreum, aurea crumena, nates plumbeæ.*

Nor does the part of the human body we mention, only ſerve to make Man a learned and induſtrious animal; but it moreover contributes much to the beauty of the ſpecies, being itſelf capable of a great degree of beauty.

Without mentioning the opinion of different ſavage Nations on that account, who take great pains to paint and adorn that part, we ſee that the Greeks, who certainly were a well-cultivated and polite People, entertained high notions of its beautifulneſs. They even ſeem to have thought

that it had the advantage, in that reſpect, of all the other parts of the human body; for, though we do not find that they ever erected altars to fine arms, fine legs, fine eyes, or even to a handſome face, yet, they had done that honour to the part we mention, and had expreſsly erected a Temple to Venus, under the appellation of Venus *with fair poſteriors* (Ἀφροδίτη Καλλίπυγη): the above Temple was built, as ſome ſay, on occaſion of a quarrel that aroſe between two Siſters, who contended which of the two was moſt elegantly ſhaped in the part we mention; a quarrel that happened to make a great noiſe. To this we may add, by the by, that ſo little did the Greeks in general think that the part we allude to, was undeſerving of attention, that they ſometimes drew from it indications of the different tempers of people; and they, for inſtance, gave the appellation of a *Man with white poſteriors* (Πύγαργος) to a Man whom they meant to charge with having too much ſoftneſs and nicety.

The Latins entertained the ſame notions with the Greeks, as to the beauty of that part, or thoſe parts, on which Man ſits. Horace more than once beſtows upon them the appellation of *fair (pulchræ)*: he even in one place expreſsly declares it as his opinion, that, for a Miſtreſs to be defective in thoſe parts (*depygis*) is one of the greateſt blemiſhes ſhe can have,—is a defect equal to

that of being with a flat noiſe (*naſuta*) or a long foot, and is in ſhort capable of ſpoiling, where it exiſts, all other bodily accompliſhments. (*Hor. Sat. 2. Lib. I.*)

Among the Moderns, notions of the ſame kind have prevailed. Rabelais, a well-known Writer, places one of his beſt ſtories to the account of a certain Nun, whom he calls *Siſter*, or *Sœur Feſſuè*; which he would not certainly have done, if he had not been of opinion that the ſize and exact ſhape of thoſe parts of the Nun's body from which he denominated her, were in the number of her greateſt perfections.

In times poſterior to Rabelais, other Writers among the French, have expreſſed opinions exactly alike. La Fontaine, if I miſtake not, ſpeaking in one of his Tales, of a certain Beauty whoſe charms he means to extoll, exclaims, 'Breaſts, Heaven knows, and a rump fit for a Canon!'

Tetins, Dieu ſait, & croupe de Chanoine!

And the celebrated Poet Rouſſeau, happening, in one of his Epigrams, to ſpeak of the abovementioned Temple which the Greeks had erected to Venus, declares that it would have been that Temple of Greece which he would have frequented with the greateſt devotion.

Nay, other perſons have thought, that, beſides the above advantages, the part we mention was

moreover capable of dignity, and partaking of the importance of its owners. This is an opinion which the Poet Scarron (to continue to draw our examples from French Authors) clearly expreſſed, in a copy of verſes he wrote to a certain Lady, whoſe Huſband having lately been made a Duke, ſhe had thereby acquired a right to be ſeated in the Queen's Aſſembly, or, as they expreſs it, had been given the *Tabouret* (a ſtool.) 'To the no ſmall pleaſure of all (ſaid Scarron, 'who, we may obſerve, had aſſumed a right to 'ſay every thing he pleaſed) and of your own 'legs, your Backſide, which is without doubt 'one of the handſomeſt Backſides in France, 'like a Backſide of importance, has at laſt, at 'the Queen's, received the *Tabouret*.'

Au grand plaiſir de tous & de vôtre jarret,
Vôtre cû, qui doit être un des beaux cûs de France,
Comme un cû d'importance,
A recu chez la Reine enfin le tabouret.

Favourable ſentiments of the kind juſt mentioned, ſeem alſo to have been entertained by the celebrated Lord Bolingbroke, whoſe diſtinguiſhed character as a Stateſman, a Politician, and a Philoſopher, render him extremely fit to be quoted in this place: it was on that part of his Miſtreſs's body we are alluding to, his Lordſhip, then a Secretary of State, choſe to write, and to ſign, one of the moſt important diſpatches of his Mi-

niſtry, and on which the repoſe of Europe depended at that time*.

In fine, others have carried their notions ſtill farther, and have thought that the part in queſtion was capable, not only of beauty and dignity, but even of ſplendor. Thus, Monſ. Pavillon, a French *Bel Eſprit* under the reign of Lewis XIV. who filled the office of King's General Advocate at Metz, who was one of the forty Members of the French Academy, and Nephew to a Biſhop, wrote a copy of verſes that is inſerted in the Collection of his *Works*, which he intitled, *Métamorphoſe du Cû d'Iris en Aſtre*. 'The Metamor-'phoſe of Iris's Bum, into a Star.' By a Star of that kind, the Duke of York, afterwards King James II, was dazzled, when he became enamoured with Miſs Arabella Churchill, a Maid of Honour to the Ducheſs, at the time that Lady had a fall from her horſe, in a party of hunting: and to his Royal Highneſs being ſo dazzled, the firſt advancement of the great Duke of Marlborough, then Mr. Churchill, the Lady's Brother, became owing; together with the capital advantages that accrued to this Nation, from his getting afterwards into great employments.

* Miſs Gumley.—She became a few years afterwards, Counteſs of Bath. His Lordſhip, no doubt, boaſted of the fact, as it ſeems to have made ſome noiſe at the time.

Yet, on the other hand, we find that that ſame part, which has been thought by ſome to poſſeſs ſo many accompliſhments, and has accordingly become the ſubject of their reſpect and their admiration, has been made by others, the object of their ſcoffs, and expreſly choſen as a mark to direct their inſults to.

The facts that have been recited a few pages before this, might be produced as confirmations of this remark. The prevailing vulgar practice, in caſes of provocation, of threatening, or even ſerving, the part in queſtion with kicks, might alſo be mentioned on this occaſion. But it will be better to obſerve in general, that, among all Nations, the part we are ſpeaking of, has been deemed a moſt proper place for beatings, laſhings, and flappings.

That this notion prevailed among the Romans, we are informed by the paſſages of Plautus, and of St. Jerom, that are recited in the ſixth Chapter of this Book (p. 94, 95.) The ſame practice was alſo adopted by the Greeks, as may be proved by the inſtance of the Philoſopher Peregrinus, which has been mentioned in the ſame Chapter. And under the reign of the Emperors, when the two Nations (the Greek and Roman) had, as it were, coaleſced into one, the ſame notions concerning the fitneſs of the ſame part, to bear verberations and inſults, continued to prevail. Of

this we have a ſingular inſtance in the manner in which the ſtatue of the Emperor Conſtantine was treated, at the time of the revolt of the Town of Edeſſa: the inhabitants, not ſatisfied with pulling that ſtatue down, in order to aggravate the inſult flagellated it on the part we mention. Libanius the *Rhetor* informs us of this fact, in the Harangue he addreſſed to the Emperor Theodoſius, after the great revolt of the City of Antioch; in which he mentions the pardon granted by Conſtantine for the above indignity, as an argument to induce the Emperor to forgive the inhabitants of the laſt-mentioned City: a requeſt, however, which Libanius was not ſo happy as to obtain.

Among the French, notions of the ſame kind likewiſe prevail. Of this, not to confine ourſelves to particular facts, we may derive proofs from their language itſelf; in which the verb that is derived from the word by which the part here alluded to, is expreſſed, ſignifies of itſelf, and without the addition of any other word, to beat or verberate it: thus, Monſ. de Voltaire ſuppoſes his Princeſs Cunegonde to ſay to Candide,—*Tandis qu'on vous feſſoit, mon cher Candide*; by which, however, that Author does not mean expreſsly to ſay that Candide was flagellated upon the part we ſpeak of, by order of the Inquiſition; he only uſes the above word to render his ſtory more jocular. From the above French word *feſſer*, has been again

derived the noun *feſſade*, ſignifying a verberation on the ſame part; the ſame as the word *claque* (or *clack*, as they pronounce it) which originally meant a ſlap in general, but, by a kind of *antonomatia* (a particular figure of ſpeech) is now come expreſly to ſignify a ſlap on the part in queſtion. Among the Italians, the practice of verberating the ſame part, alſo obtains, if we are to truſt to proofs likewiſe derived from their language; and from the word *chiappa*, they have made that of *chiappata*, the meaning of which is the ſame with that of the French word *claque*.

If we turn our eyes to remote Nations, we find they entertain notions of the ſame ſort. Among the Turks, a verberation on the part we ſpeak of, is the common puniſhment that is inflicted either on the Janiſſaries, or Spahis; I do not remember which of the two. Among the Perſians, puniſhments of the ſame kind are alſo eſtabliſhed; and we find in Chardin, an inſtance of a Captain of the outward gate of the King's Seraglio, who was ſerved with it, for having ſuffered a ſtranger to ſtop before that gate, and look through it. And the Chineſe alſo uſe a like method of chaſtiſement, and inflict it, as Travellers inform us, with a wooden inſtrument, ſhaped like a large ſolid rounded ſpoon.

Among the Arabians, the part here alluded to, is likewiſe conſidered as a fit mark for blows and

ſlaps. We find an inſtance of this, in one of the Arabian Tales, called *The one thouſand and one Nights:* an original Book, and which contains true pictures of the manners of that Nation. The ſtory I mean, which is well worth reminding the reader of, is that of a certain Cobler, whoſe name, if I miſtake not, was Shak-Abak. This Cobler having fallen in love with a beautiful Lady belonging to ſome wealthy Man, or Man of power, of whom he had had a glance through the window of her houſe, would afterwards keep for whole hours every day, ſtaring at that window. The Lady, who propoſed to make game of him, one day ſent one of her female ſlaves to introduce him to her, and then gave him to underſtand, that if he could overtake her, by running after her through the apartments of her houſe, he would have the enjoyment of her favours: he was beſides told, that in order to run more nimbly, he muſt ſtrip to his ſhirt. To all this Shak-Abak agreed; and after a number of turns, up and down the houſe, he was at laſt enticed into a long, dark, and narrow paſſage, at the fartheſt extremity of which an open door was to be perceived; he made to it as faſt as he could, and when he had reached it, ruſhed headlong through it; when, to his no ſmall aſtoniſhment, the door inſtantly ſhut upon him, and he found himſelf in the middle of a public ſtreet of Bagdat, which was chiefly inhabited by ſhoemakers. A number of

theſe latter, ſtruck at the ſudden and ſtrange appearance of the unfortunate Shak-Abak, who, beſides ſtripping to his ſhirt, had ſuffered his eye-brows to be ſhaved, laid hold of him, and, as the Arabian Author relates, ſoundly laſhed his poſteriors with their ſtraps.

If we turn again to European Nations, we ſhall meet with farther inſtances of the ſame kind of correction. It was certainly adopted in Denmark, and even in the Court of that Country, towards the latter end of the laſt Century, as we are informed by Lord Moleſworth, in his *Account of Denmark*. It was the cuſtom, his Lordſhip ſays, at the end of every hunting-match at Court, that, in order to conclude the entertainment with as much feſtivity as it had begun, a proclamation was made,—if any could inform againſt any perſon who had infringed the known laws of hunting, let him ſtand forth and accuſe. As ſoon as the contravention was aſcertained, the culprit was made to kneel down between the horns of the ſtag that had been hunted; two of the Gentlemen removed the ſkirts of his coat; when the King, taking a ſmall long wand in his hand, laid a certain number of blows, which was proportioned to the greatneſs of the offence, on the culprit's breech; whilſt, in the mean time (the Noble Author adds) the Huntſmen with their braſs horns, and the dogs with their loud openings, proclaimed the

King's Juſtice, and the Criminal's puniſhment: the ſcene affording diverſion to the Queen, and the whole Court, who ſtood in a circle about the place of execution *.

Among the Dutch, verberations on the poſteriors are equally in uſe; and a ſerious flagellation on that part, is the puniſhment which is eſtabliſhed at the Cape of Good Hope, one of their Colonies, as Kolben informs us in his *Deſcription* of it, for thoſe who are found ſmoaking tobacco in the ſtreets: a practice which has frequently been there the cauſe of houſes being ſet in fire.

In Poland, a *lower* diſcipline is the penance conſtantly inflicted upon fornicators, in Convents, previouſly to tying them together by the bond of matrimony; or ſometimes afterwards.

In England, caſtigations of the ſame kind, not to quote other inſtances, are adopted among that reſpectable part of the Nation, the Seamen, as we find in Falconer's Marine Dictionary; and a *Cobbing-board* is looked upon as a neceſſary part of the rigging of his Majeſty's ſhips.

Among the Spaniards, they ſo generally conſider the part of the human body of which we are treating here, as the propereſt to bear ill uſage and mortification, that in every place there is commonly ſome good Friar who makes his poſ-

* See Lord Moleſworth's *Account of Denmark*, IVth Edit. p. 108, 109.

teriors anſwerable for the ſins of the whole Pariſh; and who, according as he has been fee'd for that purpoſe, flogs himſelf, or at leaſt tells his Cuſtomers he has done ſo: hence the common Spaniſh ſaying, which is mentioned in the Hiſtory of Friar Gerundio de Campazas, *Yo ſoi el culo del Frayle*;—'I am as badly off as the Friar's back-ſide;' which is ſaid by perſons who think that they are made to pay, or ſuffer, for advantages they are not admitted to ſhare.

Nor is the above method of ſelf-correction confined to Spaniſh Friars only: it is likewiſe adopted by a number of religious Orders of Men, eſtabliſhed in the other Countries of Europe. It is alſo by corrections directed to the ſame part, that is to ſay, by Cornelian diſciplines, that numbers of pious Confeſſors, zealous for the purity of the morals of their female penitents, endeavour to procure their improvement. Nay, it is upon the ſame part we ſpeak of, upon that part to which the Greeks had erected a Temple, that the whole tribe of Nuns and female Devotees conſtantly chooſe to practice thoſe mortifications and *lower diſciplines* by which they ſeek to atone for their ſins; and ſeveral among them really treat that part, by which they perhaps have the beſt chance to create themſelves admirers, with wonderful ſeverity.

The above Diſſertation, which, before I engaged in it, I did not think would prove ſo long, or ſo intereſting, has till now kept me from delivering my opinion concerning thoſe flagellations with which certain holy Men have ſerved thoſe Ladies who ventured to make amorous applications to them: a ſatisfaction which, before I conclude, I muſt give the Reader, as having pledged my word for it. Now, to fulfill my engagement in that reſpect, I declare that I totally diſapprove ſuch flagellations; and I am firmly of opinion that this kind of treatment ought to be ranked among thoſe actions of Saints, which, as hath been obſerved in a former place, are not fit for all perſons to imitate.

In fact, we find that ſeveral Authors, among thoſe who beſt knew the world, and were excellent Judges of propriety, who had occaſion to deſcribe ſituations like thoſe in which the above Saints were placed, have made their perſonages act in quite a different manner from that in which the Saints behaved; and on this occaſion we may mention the conduct of Parſon Adams, one of the Heroes of *Fielding*, in that celebrated night he ſpent at Lady Booby's. If, in the firſt inſtance, he, as muſt be confeſſed, gave Mrs. Slipſlop that remembrance in her guts mentioned by the Author, it was not till ſhe had herſelf given him a

dreadful cuff on his chops; beſides that he did not know yet her ſex, nor what ſhe meant. But when he afterwards found himſelf in the ſame bed with Fanny, which, as he thought, was his own bed, he ſhrunk, as it were, and retired to the fartheſt extremity of it, where he lay quiet, and above all manifeſted no thought whatever of flagellating her; which if he had done, Joſeph would not certainly have thanked him for it.

Don Quixote, in *Cervantes*, when the lovely Maritornes came during the night to his bed, and threw herſelf into his arms, had no thought of employing either whips or ſtraps for diſmiſſing the amorous Fair-one; and certainly if he had applied to an expedient of this kind, he would have had no right to complain of the boxes and kicks with which the Muleteer preſently after belaboured him in the dark. But, like a gallant and exceedingly well-bred Knight, he excuſed himſelf from the nature of the anterior engagements he was under, and above all did not forget to pay proper compliments to the Lady's beauty and great perfections. Indeed, the ſpeech which the Knight addreſſed to the fair Maritornes, may be propoſed as a pattern of compliment for occaſions of the kind. 'Oh! thou moſt lovely tempta-'tion! Oh that I now might but pay a warm ac-'knowledgment for the mighty bleſſing which

'your great goodneſs would laviſh on me! Yes, 'moſt beautiful Charmer, I would give an em- 'pire to purchaſe your more deſirable embraces; 'but Fate has put to it an invincible obſtacle; I 'mean my plighted faith to Dulcinea *del Toboſo*, 'the ſole miſtreſs of my wiſhes, and abſolute ſo- 'vereign of my heart. Oh! did not this oppoſe 'my preſent happineſs, I could never be ſo in- 'ſenſible a Knight as to loſe the benefit of this 'extraordinary favour you now condeſcend to of- 'fer me.'

Nor ought the Gentleman, after delivering the above ſpeech, or ſome other equally reſpectful, to ſtop there; it would be moreover extremely proper for him to deſire the Lady to do him the honour to ſit upon his bed, and then enter into a fuller explanation of his conduct, and of the nature of thoſe prior engagements by which he is ſo fatally tied.

This done, and the Lady being perfectly convinced of the propriety of his conduct, he ſhould riſe from his bed, and offer to attend her, I do not ſay to the bottom of the ſtairs, and ſo far as the ſtreet door, for that might be the means of diſcovering the ſecret of the affair to other perſons and endangering the Lady's reputation, but to the remoteſt door of his own apartment. I would moreover have him, in his paſſage to that

door, keep the Lady's hand tenderly ſqueezed in his own, and all the while manifeſt, by the nature of his geſtures and exclamations, the grief under which he labours. And laſtly, when he had reached the furtheſt place to which he may ſafely conduct her, he ought to take leave of her by a low and moſt reſpectful bow, in order completely to convince her, that the kindneſs ſhe had ventured to ſhew him, has not, in the leaſt, lowered her in his eſteem.

Such, dear Reader, is the manner in which, for my own part, I have always acted on thoſe delicate occaſions we are ſpeaking of. However, I do not pretend to dictate to others the manner in which they ought to behave, nor inſiſt upon any of the above circumſtances in particular. All I intreat of you, is, by all means to forbear to uſe thoſe ſudden and harſh flagellations that were recurred to, by St. Edmund, St. Bernardin of Sienna, and Brother Mathew. Such a treatment ſavours too much of ingratitude: nay, to have recourſe to it, is cruel in the extreme; it is heaping diſtreſs upon the diſtreſſed. Nor are you to expect that the Lady will love you the better for it afterwards, as was the caſe with St. Bernardin of Sienna: on the contrary, ſuch a proceeding on your part, if it were once known, would irreparably deſtroy your reputation with the whole

Sex, and you may depend, no propoſal or application of the like kind would be made to you ever after. Now, though you may be ever ſo firmly determined to reject all propoſals like theſe; yet, as every Lady will tell you, it is no unpleaſſing thing to have them made to you: beſides that you do not know but you may afterwards alter your reſolution.

CHAP. XX.

The fondneſs of people for flagellations, gives riſe to a number of incredible ſtories on that ſubject.

THE ſupporters of the practice of flagellation did not confine their endeavours in recommending it, to ſetting the example of it, like Rodolph of Eugubio, or Dominic the Cuiraſſed, or to ſupporting it by arguments and voluminous writings, like Cardinal Damian; but they mixed their accounts with numbers of ſtories of an extravagant kind; whether their enthuſiaſm in favour of the practice in queſtion, induced them to believe ſuch ſtories to be true, or they thought that their very incredibility would be extremely fit to bring into credit with the vulgar, a doctrine in favour of which they were themſelves ſo prepoſſeſſed.

Thus, flagellations were given out by ſome, as having the power of reſcuing ſouls from Hell itſelf; a thing which even Maſſes, though

conſtantly uſed to draw them out of Purgatory, were not thought to be able to perform. As an inſtance of the ſtories that were circulated on that account, may be produced the following, related by one *Vincent*, who lived in the year 1256.

'Archbiſhop Umbert (ſays Vincent) re-
'cited, that in the Monaſtery of St. Sylveſ-
'ter, in the duchy of Urbino, in Italy, a
'certain Monk died; and the Brothers con-
'tinued ſinging Pſalms by his body, from the
'firſt evening crowing of the Cock, till two
'o'clock in the morning; and as ſoon as they
'began, in the Maſs they celebrated for his
'ſake, to ſing the *Agnus Dei*, behold! the
'dead Man ſuddenly roſe. The Brothers,
'greatly aſtoniſhed, came near him, to hear
'what he had to ſay; when he began to throw
'forth abuſes and curſes againſt God; he ſpit
'on the Croſs that was offered him to kiſs;
'he uttered the moſt opprobrious expreſſions
'againſt the immaculate Mother of God, and
'ſaid, Of what ſervice to me is your ſinging
'pſalms, and offering ſacrifices? I have been
'in the flames of Hell, where my Lord and
'Maſter Lucifer placed a braſs crown, glow-
'ing with inextinguiſhable heat, on my head,
'and laid a coat of the ſame metal, with
'which himſelf was covered, on my ſhoul-

'ders: this coat was not long enough to 'reach down to my heels, but it was ſo vio- 'lently heated, that drops ſeemed to fall from 'it to the ground. The Brothers having then 'continued to exhort him to repent of his 'ſins, he anathemiſed them, and denied, in a 'ſacrilegious manner, all the myſteries of our 'Redeemer. The Monks thereupon prayed 'for him heartily, and after ſtripping off their 'clothes, flagellated themſelves, uttering eve- 'ry manner of ſupplication in his behalf; 'when behold! that deſperate Man recovered 'the uſe of his reaſon; he comfeſſed the om- 'nipotence of our Saviour; he renounced the 'errors of Satan, adored the Croſs, and in- 'treated to be admitted to the Sacrament of 'Confeſſion and Penitence. Now, the crime 'of which he accuſed himſelf was that of 'having committed fornication, after he had 'renounced the world; a thing which he had 'kept ſecret to his death. He thus conti- 'nued to live, praiſing and bleſſing God, to 'the next day, when he again gave up the 'ghoſt.'

Beſides ſtories of the ſame kind with that above, which were contrived to heighten the merit of flagellations, the admirers of that practice have excogitated others, in order to terrify thoſe who declined adopting it, or at-

tempted to confute it by arguments. As a ſpecimen of this, we may quote the report that was circulated concerning Cardinal Stephen, which hath been mentioned in a former place (p. 214) that he had died ſuddenly, for having deſpiſed the exerciſe in queſtion.

Another ſtory, contrived in the ſame view we ſpeak of, is to be found in Thomas *de Chantpré's* Book, in which it is related of a certain Hugh, a Canon of St. Victor, that, having on account of his weak ſtate of health, conſtantly forbore, during his life-time, the uſe of flagellations, he paid dearly afterwards for this tender care he had taken of his ſkin; for at his paſſage into Purgatory, the whole tribe of Devils laſhed him with ſcourges. 'Hugh (ſays Thomas de Chantpré) was one 'of the Regular Monks in the Monaſtery of 'St. Victor, in Paris. He was called the ſe-'cond St. Auſtin, that is to ſay, the ſecond 'Man in point of learning ſince St. Auſtin; 'but though he deſerved much praiſe in that 'reſpect, yet, the ſame cannot be ſaid of his 'conſtant refuſal to practiſe flagellations and 'diſciplines, for his quotidian miſdeeds, ei-'ther in private, or in the Chapter, in com-'pany with the Brothers: he was, as I have 'been informed, of a tender frame of body, 'and had, beſides, been too much indulged

'in his childhood. Now, becauſe he took no 'pains to overcome by exerciſe the defect of 'his nature, or rather his bad habit, very fa- 'tal conſequences enſued to him, as I am go- 'ing to relate. Being near his death, a bro- 'ther Canon, who was his intimate friend, 'intreated him to ſhew himſelf again to him, 'after he was dead. I will, ſays he, if the 'Maſter of life and death conſents to it. As 'Hugh was making this promiſe, he died; 'nor was it long before he returned to his 'friend, who was ſtill in expectation of him, 'and ſaid, Here I am; make haſte to aſk 'what queſtion you intend to aſk, for I can- 'not ſtay. The other, who, though he was 'exceedingly pleaſed, yet was not a little 'frighted, ſaid, How is it with you, my dear 'friend? It is well with me, ſaid Hugh; but 'becauſe I have refuſed, while I was alive, 'to receive diſcipline, there has hardly been a 'ſingle Devil in the whole infernal empire, 'but who gave me a ſmart laſh, as I was in 'my way to Purgatory.'

Others, in order to bring flagellations into ſtill greater credit, have ſuppoſed that the Devils themſelves were ſo ſenſible of the merit that was in them, that they would occaſionally practiſe them upon each other. Thus, St. Allen relates that the Holy Virgin Mary having

reſolved to reſcue a certain James Hall, an Uſurer, from the claws of the Dæmons, theſe unclean ſpirits, a great number of whom were preſent, no ſooner ſaw her make her appearance, than they took to blaſpheming, flagellated each other, and ran away.

The Devil himſelf has alſo, on certain occaſions, preſcribed flagellations, as an atonement for ſins; which is certainly wonderful enough. It is related in the Life of St. Virgil, that a Man poſſeſſed by the Devil, was fuſtigated with four rods, by the Devil's preſcription, for having ſtolen four wax-candles from the Saint's altar. 'I am not come (ſaid 'the poſſeſſed Man) of my own accord; but 'I have been compelled to it: I have carried 'off the wax-candles and offerings that were 'on the tomb of the Man of God; and if 'they are not ſpeedily returned, my Maſter 'will come with ſeven ſpirits worſe than himſelf, and will for ever continue in me. However, when the candles, of which they had 'been a long while in ſearch, were found 'again, by the Devil's aſſiſtance, and brought 'back, the Devil directed them to fuſtigate 'the unhappy Man with as many beſoms as 'there were candles.'

To theſe inſtances of flagellations voluntarily practiſed among Devils, we ought not to

omit to add one, in which the Devil was ſmartly flagellated in ſpite of his teeth, by a Saint, and a female Saint too; a fact which cannot fail to give the greateſt pleaſure to the Reader, who remembers the deplorable accounts that have been given in a former Chapter, of the wanton flagellations he has himſelf inflicted upon Saints. The name of the female Saint who thus gave the Devil his due, was *Cornelia Juliana*, as the Reverend Father Jeſuit, Bartholomew Fiſen, relates, in his book on the *Ancient Origin of the Feſtival of the body of Chriſt*. 'One day (ſays he) the other 'Nuns heard a prodigious noiſe in the room 'of Cornelia Juliana, which turned out to be 'a ſtrife ſhe had with the Devil, whom, after 'having laid hold of him, ſhe fuſtigated un-'mercifully; then, having thrown him upon 'the ground, ſhe trampled him under her 'foot, and continued ridiculing him in the 'moſt bitter manner *.' The above Reverend Father has neglected to inform us, how the Devil came to be in Juliana's room; but it is moſt likely he was come upon his uſual

* *Corneliæ ſodales ingentem aliquando audierunt ſtrepitum ex ejus cubiculo, & contentionem Julianæ adverſus dæmonem, quem manibus comprehenſum quanti poterat cædebat; in terram deinde proſtratum pedibus obterebat, lacerabat ſarcaſmis,*

antic errand of flagellating Saints, and meant to ſerve Juliana in the ſame manner: fortunately ſhe was upon the watch, and proved too many for him. As for the dreadful noiſe that was to be heard in the Saint's room, it was the natural conſequence of the hard ſtruggle that took place between her and the Devil, while they were thus ſtriving who ſhould flog the other.

The Saints who inhabit Paradiſe have alſo been ſuppoſed to have occaſionally recourſe to flagellations; not, to be ſure, to inflict them any longer upon themſelves; but to chaſtiſe, at the requeſt of their friends, thoſe who perſecuted them. This misfortune happened to a certain Servant of the Emperor Nicephorus, who, not ſatisfied with exacting unjuſt tributes from the common people with great rigour, offered afterwards to uſe Monaſteries in the ſame manner. 'The Emperor (ſays the Author from whom this fact is extracted) ſent 'one of the Grooms of his bed-chamber to 'receive the uſual tribute. As he was a Man 'exceedingly eager after money and unlawful 'gain, he committed great oppreſſions both 'on the common citizens, and the inhabi-'tants of the Monaſtery of St. Nicon; for 'the government of cities, and the care of 'levying duties, are uſually intruſted, not to

'the juſt and mild, but to hard-hearted and 'inhuman perſons. The Monks, who were 'poſſeſſed of no money, endeavoured to ſooth 'the above cruel unmerciful Man by their 'diſcourſes; but he, thirſty after gold, was 'as deaf to their prayers, as the aſp to con-'jurations, and made no more account of 'their remonſtrances, than, to uſe the words 'of the Scripture, of *the crackling of thorns* 'under a pot. On the contrary, his wrath 'and inſolence increaſing farther, he cauſed 'ſeveral of them to be thrown into a jail, and 'prepared to plunder the Monaſtery. The 'remaining Monks then applied to their Saint 'for aſſiſtance, who preſently made them ex-'perience the happy effects of it; for during 'the following night, he appeared to the 'Groom, with a threatening indignant aſpect, 'and laſhed him ſeverely; then ſpeaking to 'him, told him, for his words ought to be 'recorded, *Thou haſt thrown the Heads of the* 'Monaſtery into chains; *if thou doſt not releaſe* 'them inſtantly, thy death ſhall be the con-'ſequence.'

The Virgin Mary herſelf, has alſo been ſaid to have applied to corrections of the ſame kind as thoſe here alluded to, in order to avenge the injuſtices done to thoſe whom ſhe protected; and ſhe, for inſtance, cauſed a cer-

tain Biſhop to be flagellated in her preſence, who had taken his prebend from a Canon, who was indeed, but an indifferent perſon to fill his office, but who paid much devotion to her, and with his eyes caſt down, ſung every day before her Altar certain words contained in the *Angelic ſalutation*. The illuſtrious Cardinal Damian informs us of this fact, in his *Opuſc.* xxxiii. *Cap.* iii. which is entitled, *The bleſſed Virgin directs that his prebend ſhould be returned to a Clergyman who uſed to pay devotion to her*. 'The ſame Stephanus (ſays Cardinal Damian) related to me another fact of much the ſame kind. I remember, he ſaid, that there was a certain Clergyman, who was a dunce, an idle man, a dullard; to this add that he was endowed with no religious gift, and poſſeſſed no canonical gravity. Yet, amidſt the dead aſhes of his uſeleſs life, ſome ſmall particles of pious fire continued to ſubſiſt, ſo that he would every day approach the altar of the holy Mother, and, inclining his head with reverence, ſing the following both *angelic* and *evangelic* line, *Hail, Mary, full of grace, the Lord is with thee; bleſſed art thou among Women*. The new Biſhop, however, who ſoon diſcovered the incapacity of the Man, thought it wrong that an uſeful office ſhould

'be left to an uſeleſs perſon, and he took from 'him the prebend he had obtained from the 'preceding Biſhop. But as the Canon was 'thereby reduced to great poverty, having 'no other means of ſupporting himſelf, the 'bleſſed Virgin interfered in his behalf. Dur-'ing the dead of night ſhe appeared to the 'Biſhop, preceded by a Man who carried a 'diſcipline in one of his hands, and a burn-'ing torch in the other, and ordered him to 'chaſtiſe the Biſhop by ſome laſhes of it; 'then addreſſing this latter,—Why, ſaid ſhe, 'did you take from a Man who uſed to pay 'daily homages to me, a clerical advantage 'it was not you who had conferred on him? 'The Biſhop, filled with terror, and ſoon 'awaking from his ſleep, preſently returned 'the prebend to the Clergyman, and after-'wards greatly honoured as a Man whom God 'loved, a perſon who, he thought, was un-'known to him.'

CHAP. XXI.

A remarkable inſtance of a flagellation performed in honour of the Virgin Mary.

SO well eſtabliſhed was the opinion that Saints, and eſpecially the Virgin Mary, were to be appeaſed by flagellations, and ſuch was, in general, the fondneſs of people during a certain period of time, for that pious mode of correction, that a Franciſcan Monk, who wore a hood, and was girt with a cord, did not ſcruple, under the Pontificate of Sixtus IV, to expoſe to the open day, in the public market-place, the bare rump of a Profeſſor in Divinity, and laſhed him with his hand, in ſight of a croud of aſtoniſhed ſpectators, becauſe he had preached againſt the immaculate conception of the bleſſed Virgin. The fact is related in a Sermon written by Bernardinus *de Buſtis*, which, together with his whole Work in honour of the Virgin *(Opus Mariale)* he dedicated to Pope Alexander VI, and ſeems therefore to be a fact well

enough authenticated: the following is the manner in which Bernardinus gives the account.

'He laid hold of him, and threw him upon his knees; for he was very ſtrong. Having then taken up his gown; becauſe this Miniſter had ſpoken againſt the holy *Tabernacle* of God, he began to laſh him with the palm of his hand upon his huge breech, (the Author's expreſſion is, upon his *ſquare tabernacles*) which was bare; for he wore neither drawers nor breeches: and becauſe he had attempted to ſlander the bleſſed Virgin, by quoting perhaps Ariſtotle in the book of *Priors*, this Preacher confuted him by reading in the book of his Poſteriors; which greatly diverted the Byſtanders. Then a certain female Devotee exclaimed, ſaying, Mr. Preacher, give him four more ſlaps for my ſake: another preſently after ſaid, Give him alſo four more for me; and ſo did a number of others: ſo that if he had attempted to grant all their requeſts, he would have had nothing elſe to do for the whole day *.'

* *Apprehendens ipſum, revolvit ſuper ejus genua; erat enim valdè fortis. Elevatis itaque pannis, quia ille Miniſter contrà ſanctum Dei tabernaculum locutus*

Nay, ſo proper did Bernardinus de Buſtis think the above correction to have been, ſo well calculated did he judge it, to appeaſe the holy Virgin's wrath, that he did not ſcruple to declare, in the ſequel of his Sermon, that the Monk who inflicted it, had poſſibly been actuated by an inſpiration from the Virgin herſelf. 'Perhaps (ſays he) was it the Virgin 'herſelf, who induced him ſo to do, moreover 'granting him an exemption from the cen'ſures incurred, according to the Laws of the 'Church, by thoſe who ſtrike an Eccleſiaſtic, 'and relaxing the rigour of theſe laws in his 'favour *.'

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fuerat, cæpit cum palmis percutere ſuper quadrata tabernacula, quæ erant nuda, non enim habebat fœmoralia vel antiphonam; & quia ipſe infamare voluerat beatam Virginem, allegando forſitan Ariſtotelem in Libro Priorum, iſte Prædicator illum confutavit legendo in libro ejus Poſteriorum: de hoc autem omnes qui aderant, gaudebant. Tunc exclamavit quædam devota mulier, dicens, Domine Prædicator, detis ei clavas quatuor palmatas pro me; & alia poſtmodum dixit, detis ei etiam quatuor; ſicque multæ aliæ rogabant; ità quòd ſi illarum petitionibus ſatisfacere voluiſſet, per totum diem aliud facere non potuiſſet.—— In Opere Mariali, *Serm. viii.* de Conceptione Beatæ Virginis, *circ. fin.*

* There prevails, as may have been perceived,

a kind of competition between the Abbé Boileau and me, who ſhall find out the beſt ſtory, which is extremely for the benefit of the Reader. However, the ſtory above quoted from Bernardinus *de Buſtis*, with which we are ſupplied by the Abbé's book, is ſo good in itſelf, ſo full of Attic ſalt, ſo well in the true Monkiſh ſtyle, that I deſpair of producing any thing that can match it. I will try, therefore, to make up in number what I may want in point of intrinſic merit; and, inſtead of one ſtory, I will relate two; which, that I may keep as near to my model as may be (for here it inſpires me with uncommon emulation) will both have Friars for their object, and be of the ſame turn with the above.

The firſt is contained in the book of the *Apologie pour Hérodote*, the Author of which ſays he heard it from a Gentlewoman of Lorrain, who had been an eye-witneſs to it. A Monk, one day, preached in a Country Church, upon the ſubject of Hell. He took much pains to inſpire his Congregation with a great averſion for the place, and made as frightful a deſcription of it as he could; but now and then, pretending that proper expreſſions failed him, he ſtopped ſuddenly, and then exclaimed,—In ſhort, Hell is as horrid as the breech of the Bell-ringer of the Pariſh; which ſaying, he uncovered the poſteriors of the latter, who had placed himſelf there for that pur-

poſe, and had agreed with the Friar to act that farce with him.

The ſecond ſtory I propoſe to relate, which I do not remember where I have read, perhaps in the ſame book above quoted, is that of another jolly Predicant Friar, who laid a wager he would make one half of his Congregation laugh, and the other cry. As for making his hearers cry, it was what he had often ſucceeded in doing, being a very good preacher. On the appointed day, he accordingly came to Church, provided with an excellent Sermon, with that, of his ſtock, which he knew was moſt likely to produce the deſired effect, and he preſently after began reciting it; for they never read their Sermons. But, before I proceed farther, I muſt inform the Reader that the pulpit in which he preached, ſtood in the middle of the Church; and, beſides leaving the door behind him open, he had found means to adjuſt his gown and breeches in ſuch a manner, that he might let the latter fall down whenever he pleaſed. When he had gone through the greater part of his preaching, and his hearers were very near being in the neceſſary diſpoſition to make him win one half of the wager, he, on a ſudden, let his breeches drop upon his heels, and exhibited, to uſe the expreſſion of Bernardinus *de Buſtis*, his ſquare tabernacles to the full view of that part of the Congregation who were ſeated behind the pul-

pit. With reſpect to him, however, pretending to perceive nothing of the matter, and to be wholly taken up with his Sermon, he went on with it as before: and as he had now reached the latter part of it, conſequently that which contained his moſt intereſting deſcriptions as well as ſtrongeſt arguments, he exerted ſo much eloquence in it, and ſuch a power of declamation, that that part of the Congregation who were placed in front of the pulpit, were really melting in tears, while thoſe who ſat behind, minding leſs what they heard than what they ſaw, were in a ſituation of mind quite different; and it is needleſs to ſay that the Friar won the wager.

To the above ſtories a number of others of the ſame kind might be added; which, though it might be a hard matter to vouch for their truth, yet are related by different Authors in a very ſerious manner, and ſuch as ſhews that they hoped their accounts would be believed. Thus, the Author of the *Apologie pour Hérodote*, ſays he had heard the ſtory he mentions, from a perſon who had been an eye-witneſs to it. And Bernardinus *de Buſtis*, not only pretends he greatly approves the fact he relates, which he repreſents as having been peculiarly agreeable to the Virgin, but has moreover inſerted it in a Sermon which he publiſhed, and dedicated to a Pope.

From the above ſtories, as well as from many others related in the ſame manner, we are therefore at leaſt to conclude, that they bear great reſemblance to a number of facts which commonly happened in the times of the Authors who relate them; and we may thence admire the ſingular licence of manners which prevailed among Monks and the Clergy in general, during a certain period of time: a licence which we find to have eſpecially obtained when, being the dominant, or rather the ſole Chriſtian Church that exiſted, they were without rivals or competitors; and it may really be ſaid, that the event of the Reformation proved, in ſeveral reſpects, as much a reformation for them, as for thoſe who expreſsly adopted it.

CHAP. XXII.

Another Story of a female Saint appeaſed by a flagellation.

AND not only the Virgin Mary, but other female Saints, inhabitants of Paradiſe, have alſo been thought to be extremely well diſpoſed to be appeaſed, when they had received offence, by flagellatory corrections. The following Story is to be found in the Book intitled, *Itinerarium Cambriæ*, wrote by Sylveſter Geraldus, a native of the Country of Wales, who wrote about the year 1188.

'In the Northern borders of England, and 'on the other ſide of the river Humber, in 'the Pariſh of Hooëden, lived the Rector of 'that Church, with his Concubine. This 'Concubine, one day ſat rather imprudently, on the tomb of St. Oſanna, ſiſter to 'King Oſred, which was made of wood, 'and raiſed above the ground in the ſhape of 'a ſeat. When ſhe attempted to riſe from 'the place, her poſteriors ſtuck to the wood 'in ſuch a manner, that ſhe never could be

'parted from it, till, in the preſence of the 'people who ran to ſee her, ſhe had ſuffered 'her clothes to be torn from her, and had 'received a ſevere diſcipline on her naked 'body, and that, to a great effuſion of blood, 'and with many tears and devout ſupplica-'tions on her part: which done, and after 'ſhe had engaged to ſubmit to farther peni-'tence, ſhe was divinely releaſed *.'

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* . . . . *Quæ cum recedere vellet, fixis ligno natibus, evelli non potuit, &c.—Itinerarii Cambriæ, Lib. I.*

This opinion of Catholic Divines concerning the great power of flagellations to appeaſe the wrath of female Saints, and the content which they have ſuppoſed the latter to receive from ſuch ceremonies, after the example of the antient Goddeſſes, might furniſh a new ſubject of compariſon between the Catholic Religion, and that of the ancient Heathens; and if Dr. Middleton had thought of it, he might have added a new article on that head, to his *Letter from Rome.*

In fact, the Reader may remember the account that has been given in the fifth Chapter of this Book, of the ſingular ceremonies that were exhibited at Lacedæmon, before the altar of Diana.

(*See* p. 71, &c.) The ſame was done ſometimes before the altar of Juno. Rites of much the ſame flagellatory kind were practiſed in the Temple of the Goddeſs of Syria. And ſimilar ceremonies alſo uſed to be performed in honour of the *great Goddeſs*, in Egypt. (*See* p. 76, 77.)

So prevalent was become the opinion that Goddeſſes delighted in ſeeing ſuch corrections inflicted before their altars, that ſeveral of them, among whom was Venus herſelf, were ſuppoſed to be ſupplied with the neceſſary implements to inflict them with their own hands, occaſionally (p. 55). Nay, the Muſes themſelves had been provided with inſtruments of the ſame kind: Lucian, in his Letter or Addreſs "to an ignorant Man who was taking much pains in collecting a Library," ſays to him, that the Muſes will drive him from Parnaſſus, with their *whips of myrtle*. And Bellona, the Goddeſs of war, has alſo been armed by Virgil, in the 8th Book of his Æneid, with an enormous whip.

Quem cùm ſanguineo ſequitur Bellona flagello.

Theſe notions of the Ancients, concerning the inclination they attributed to Goddeſſes, for corrections of the kind here alluded to, may be explained in different ways.

In the firſt place, they perhaps thought it was owing to the greater iraſcibility of temper of the Sex, which prompts them to give effectual marks

of their reſentment, when they have good reaſon to think that no reſiſtance will be attempted. In the ſecond place, they poſſibly aſcribed that inclination they ſuppoſed in the female Sex, to their love of juſtice; which is certainly a very laudable diſpoſition. And, thirdly, they perhaps alſo conſidered that propenſity of Women, to uſe inſtruments which were, in thoſe times, deemed to be characteriſtic emblems of power, as the effect of that love of dominion with which the Sex has at all times been charged, and the conſequence of ſome ambitious wiſh they ſuppoſed in them, of having the uncontrouled ſway of the terrible *flagellum*.

However, if I am allowed to deliver my opinion concerning the above inclination of the fair Sex, about which the Antients ſeem to have entertained ſo great a prepoſſeſſion, I will ſay that I think it owing to the ſecond of the cauſes abovementioned, that is to ſay, to their laudable love of juſtice, and at the ſame time, to the peculiar nature of the Sex, which makes them feel a great reluctance in uſing any inſtruments, either of a cruel, or an unwieldly and ungraceful kind, for inſtance fire-arms or javelins, ſwords or clubs, but prompts them to employ, when they mean to give effectual tokens of their reſentment, inſtruments ſuitable to the mercifulneſs of their tempers, and the elegance of their manners.

Of this love of juſtice inherent in Women, a ſingular inſtance occurs in the Greek Hiſtory. I mean to ſpeak of the flagellations which Ladies, in Lacedæmon, who had reached a certain age without finding huſbands, uſed to beſtow, before the altar of Juno, upon ſuch Men as continued paſt a certain time of life, to live in an unmarried ſtate. Theſe flagellations the unmarried Lacedæmonian Ladies (no doubt through the long uſe they had made of them) had at laſt converted into an expreſs right; and the ceremony was performed every year, during a certain ſolemnity eſtabliſhed for that purpoſe. Whether they flagellated all the unmarried Men without exception, who came within the words of the regulation on that ſubject, Hiſtorians have neglected to inform us: perhaps they ſerved in that manner only a certain number, in order to ſhew the right they had of flagellating all the reſt.

Nor have Women of modern times leſs diſtinguiſhed themſelves than the Greek Ladies, by their love of juſtice, or paid leſs regard to elegance in their choice of the means they have employed to avenge the inſults they may have received.

In fact, we have ſeen in the preſent Chapter, that the perſons who have raiſed the fabric of the Catholick Church, or rather Creed, perſons who certainly were good obſervers of the manners of Mankind, have given the ſame inclination

and the ſame attributes, to their female inhabitants of Paradiſe, as the Ancients had given to their Goddeſſes. And concluſions to the ſame effect may be derived from the works of imagination of a number of reſpectable modern Authors, who have all given to the Ladies of whom they had occaſion to ſpeak, the ſame elegant diſpoſitions we mention, and made them act, when offended, upon the ſame principles as the Ladies in Lacedæmon: theſe works I do not ſcruple to mention as weighty authorities; for though they may be, as I ſaid, works in appearance of imagination merely, yet it is well known that ſuch great Authors, when they relate any ſtories, always allude to certain facts of which they have either been eye-witneſſes, or received aſſured information.

And to quote one or two on the ſubject, we find that the celebrated La Fontaine, in one of his Tales which he has entitled *The Pair of Spectacles*, makes certain Nuns, who, as they thought, had had a great affront put upon their Monaſtery, have immediate recourſe to the elegant method of revenge here alluded to. The ſtory is as follows.

Several Nuns, in a certain Convent, were found to be in a ſituation which, though pretty natural for Women to be in, yet was not quite ſo with Women who were ſuppoſed to have conſtantly lived incloſed in the ſame walls with

other Women, and made the Abbeſs judiciouſly conclude that ſome *male* Nun was harboured among them, or, as it was expreſſed, that ſome wolf lay hidden among the ſheep: a ſuſpicion which, by the by, was well grounded; for a young Man, who had as yet no beard, had found means to introduce himſelf into the Convent, where he lived, dreſſed like the Siſters, and was reckoned one among them. In order both to aſcertain ſuch ſuſpicion, and diſcover ſo dangerous a perſon, all the Nuns were ordered into one room, and there made to ſtrip themſelves ſtark naked; when the Abbeſs, with her ſpectacles on her noſe (whence the Tale has received its name) inſpected them all, one after another, carefully. To relate how the young Man, notwithſtanding the ingenious precautions he had taken, came to be found out, and how the Abbeſs's ſpectacles were thrown from her noſe and broken, is foreign to our ſubject: let it here ſuffice to ſay that the young Man was really found out; and that the Nuns, except thoſe who had been concerned with him, who were previouſly locked up in a ſafe place,—that the Nuns, I ſay, laid hold of him, led him into a wood that ſtood cloſe to their Convent, and there tied him to a tree, naked as he was, in order to make him atone for his audaciouſneſs by a ſmart flagellation. Having forgotten to ſupply themſelves with the neceſſary inſtru-

ments of correction, they ran back to the Convent to fetch them, and whether from the miſlaying of a key, or ſome other accident, were detained a little time. In the mean time a Miller, riding upon his Aſs, went through the wood; and ſeeing the young Man in the abovementioned plight, ſtopped, and aſked him the reaſon of it: to which the latter made anſwer, that it was thoſe wicked Nuns who had put him in that ſituation, becauſe he would not gratify their wanton requeſts; that he had rather die than be guilty of ſuch thing. The Miller then caſt upon him a look of the utmoſt contempt .... but it will be better to refer the Reader to the abovementioned Author himſelf, for the inimitable Dialogue that paſſed between the young Man and the Miller: here it will be enough to ſay, that this latter propoſed to the other to put himſelf in his place, and warranted him he would behave in quite a different manner, and much more to the ſatisfaction of the Nuns than he had done. The young Man had no need of much encouragement to accept the propoſal: after the Miller had releaſed him, and ſtripped himſelf, he tied him faſt to the ſame tree, and had juſt time enough to ſteal away, and hide himſelf behind ſome neighbouring buſh, when the Nuns ruſhed again out of the ſame door at which they had got in, armed with all the diſciplines and beſoms they had been able to find in

the Convent. They immediately marched up to the perſon who was tied to the tree, and without minding the broad ſhoulders and brawny limbs which were now offered to their view, began to uſe their diſciplines with great agility. In vain did the Miller expoſtulate with them on their uſing him ſo ill: in vain did he remonſtrate that he was not the Man whom they took him to be; that he was not that beardleſs ſtrippling, that milk-ſop ſimpleton, with whom they had formerly had to do, that woman-hater who had given them ſo juſt a cauſe of diſſatisfaction; that they ought to try him before they entertained ſo bad an opinion of him:—in vain did he even at laſt, in the extremity of pain, apply to the utmoſt powers of his native language, to convey to them the cleareſt ideas he could, both to thoſe wiſhes he ſuppoſed in them, and of his great abilities to gratify them: the more loudly and clearly he ſpoke, the more unmercifully they laid on, and only left him when they had worn out their diſciplines.

Cervantes likewiſe, whoſe authority is equal to that of any Author, and who has moreover thrown a great light upon the ſubject of flagellations, has introduced a fact which greatly ſerves to confirm the obſervations we are diſcuſſing here. I mean to ſpeak of what happened in that memorable night in which the Senora Rodriguez paid a viſit to the valorous Don Quixote, in his bed.

That Gentlewoman having, in the courſe of the converſation ſhe had with the Knight, dropped ſeveral reflections of a very bad kind on the Ducheſs and the fair Altiſidora, who were at that very inſtant liſtening at the door, theſe two Ladies, though juſtly and greatly offended at the liberty that was thus taken with their character, recurred to no expedient of a coarſe and rough kind to avenge the inſult; but they immediately applied to the ſummary, yet ſmart,—genteel, yet effectual, mode of correction here alluded to, namely, a flagellation. And here the Author we mention has taken an opportunity of giving a ſingular inſtance of the readineſs of wit of the fair Sex, and of the quickneſs with which they uſually extricate themſelves out of the ſeemingly moſt perplexing difficulties. The Ducheſs and Altiſidora were entirely deſtitute of the neceſſary inſtruments to inflict the chaſtiſement they had reſolved upon; but they had the great preſence of mind to think of uſing their ſlippers for that purpoſe: they preſently pulled them off their feet; bounced the door open; ran to the Senora Rodriguez; in the twinkling of an eye made her ready for flagellation, and immediately began to exert their new weapons with great dexterity. Thence, ſtill in the dark, they paſſed to the aſtoniſhed Knight, who lay ſnug in his bed, and who, by his liſtening to the ſtories of the Senora, and alſo by his

queſtions, had encouraged her to proceed in her reflections (a thing which he might full as well have avoided doing) and beſtowed upon him a few of thoſe favours they had ſo plentifully heaped upon the above Gentlewoman.

At this place might alſo be mentioned, as being extremely well in point to the ſubject we are treating, the kind of ſatisfaction required by Dulcinea, from Sancho, and that which the Lady introduced by Butler, preſcribed to the renowned Hudibras, while he was in the ſtocks; though, I confeſs, it might be ſaid that the corrections here alluded to, were only adviſed, not inflicted, by the above Ladies. But it will ſuffice to mention, as a concluſion of theſe quotations from great Authors, the manner in which *Lazarillo de Tormes*, the notorious Spaniſh Cheat, was ſerved by his four Wives. Having found out the place of his abode, they immediately agreed among themſelves to ſerve him with the elegant kind of chaſtiſement here mentioned; and having all together ſurprized him one morning, while he was aſleep, they tied him faſt to his bed, and ſerved upon him one of the moſt dreadful flagellations that ever were inflicted, ſince the uſe of them has been contrived, as we are told in the Hiſtory of the Life of the ſaid *Lazarillo*; a Book which is ſtill in repute in Spain, it being written with humour, and containing true pictures of the manners of

that Country, and being even, as ſome ſay, founded on real facts.

Nor are true and well-authenticated inſtances wanting, to confirm the ſame obſervations. None, however, can be mentioned, that ſets in a ſtronger light the love of juſtice inherent in the female Sex, and their conſtant attention to make choice of expedients of an elegant kind to expreſs their reſentment, than the cuſtom that prevails in France and Italy, and perhaps in other Countries, according to which, Ladies uſe to flagellate their acquaintances, while they are yet in bed, on the morning of the day of the feſtival of the Innocents; whence this flagellatory cuſtom is called "giving the Innocents" *(dar gli Innocenti)*: the word *Innocent*, we may obſerve, has, in both the Italian and French languages, beſides the Engliſh ſignification of it, that of fool, or ſimpleton; hence the words, *the Day of the Innocents*, ſeem alſo to ſignify in thoſe two languages, the *Fools* day, or the day of the *Unwary*.

Nay, ſo well eſtabliſhed is the cuſtom we mention, that Women, in thoſe parts, look upon that day, as a day of general juſtice and retribution, or an Aſſize or Seſſions day, to which they refer taking ſatisfaction for the ſlight offences they may receive in the courſe of the year, eſpecially from their male friends. They even will ſometimes, when the latter heſitate too much in granting their requeſts, or miſbehave in any manner,

hint to them the fatal conſequences that may enſue from ſuch a conduct, and plainly intimate to them, that a certain day in the year is to come on which every thing is to be atoned for.

When this important day is arrived, thoſe Ladies who have agreed to join together in the ſame party, or (to continue the compariſon drawn from the law that has been above employed) who have agreed to go together upon the circuit, repair early in the morning to the appointed place of rendezvous, for inſtance the apartment of one of them, ſufficiently provided with diſciplines from their reſpective kitchens; and after laying the plan of their operations, they ſally out, to take a round to the apartments of their different acquaintances.

The prudent and cautious, on ſuch an important day, take great care to ſecure well the bolts and locks of their doors; or rather, fearing that ſleep ſhould overcome them, and knowing how fatal neglect might prove, they take that precaution on the evening before, when going to bed, and as an additional ſecurity, they heap all the chairs and tables againſt the door. Others, who are of a bold and daring ſpirit, on the contrary affect on that day, to leave the doors of their rooms wide open, and ſtay in bed, reſolved to wait the event, and undauntedly to face the ſtorm. However, as ſuch an affectation of bravery ſeems to indicate that ſome preſent trick, or at leaſt ſome

future retaliation of ſome kind or other is intended, the Ladies commonly keep clear from a place they judge ſo ominous; unleſs there happens to be one among them of an uncommonly courageous turn of mind, who places herſelf in the van, encourages the whole party; and they all together ruſh into the room and fall upon the adventurous Hero, who is then made to pay dearly for his temerity. When this does not happen to be the caſe, and at the ſame time they find the doors of all thoſe perſons whom they had expreſsly marked out for chaſtiſement, to be proof againſt either a coup-de-main or a regular ſiege, as they muſt not part without ſome effectual buſineſs has been tranſacted, the cloud commonly breaks upon ſome unfortunate Simpleton, who has left his door open for no other reaſon than becauſe he had forgot what day of the month it was; they lay faſt hold of him, and ſeldom leave him before their diſciplines are worn out to the ſtumps. The ſtory is ſoon circulated in whiſpers in the neighbourhood; and if any perſon who has not yet heard of it, obſerves that the Gentleman appears that day uncommonly grave and ſulky, his wonder preſently ceaſes, when he is told that, on the morning, they have given him the *Innocents*.

The cuſtom we mention, ſeems to be of pretty ancient date; it is alluded to in that old Book formerly quoted, *The Tales of the Queen of Na-*

varre. A Man, an Upholſterer by trade, as it is ſaid in one of theſe Tales (for Men will ſometimes avail themſelves of the practice in queſtion when it may ſerve their turn) a Man was in love with his ſervant Maid; and as he did not know how to find an opportunity to eſcape the vigilance of his Wife, and be alone with her, he pretended, in a converſation he brought about on the ſubject, on the eve of *Innocent's* day, to find much fault with the Maid; complained that ſhe was a lazy Wench, and ſo on; and added, that, in order to teach her better, he propoſed, on the next morning, to give her the *Innocents.* The Wife greatly applauded his reſolution: at break of day, he accordingly roſe from his bed, took up a diſcipline of ſuch a monſtrous ſize, that his Wife's heart aked to think what correction the Maid was about to undergo, and ran up ſtairs with a diſpoſition of ſeemingly very great ſeverity; however, I am happy to inform the Reader, that, after he had bounced the door open, and at firſt frighted the Maid very much, every thing was concluded in an amicable manner.

If from Ladies of a middling ſtation in life, and in the claſs of Upholſterers, we turn our eyes towards Ladies of rank, and Court Ladies, we ſhall meet with inſtances no leſs inſtructive and intereſting.

We may, in the firſt place, mention the caſe of the Poet Clopinel, which has been alluded to in a former Chapter. This Poet, who was alſo called *John of Mehun* (a ſmall Town on the river Loire) lived about the year 1300, under the reign of Philip the Fair, King of France, at whoſe Court he was well received. He wrote ſeveral Books, and among others tranſlated into French the Letters of Abelard to Heloiſa: but that of his works which gave him moſt reputation, was his concluſion of the celebrated *Roman de la Roſe*; a Poem of much the ſame turn with Ovid's *Art of Love*, which had been begun by William *de Lorris*, and met with prodigious ſucceſs in thoſe times, and was afterwards imitated by Chaucer. However, Clopinel gave great offence to the whole Sex, by four lines he had inſerted in that Poem, the meaning of which is as follows:—All of you are, "will be, or were, either in deed, or intention, "wh-res; and whoever would well ſearch into "your conduct, wh-res would find you all "to be."

Toutes êtes, ſerez, ou futes
De fait ou de volonté, putes;
Et qui bien vous chercheroit
Toutes putes vous trouveroit.

The meaning of theſe verſes, if we take from them the coarſeneſs of the expreſſions, which did not perhaps ſound ſo harſh in thoſe times as they

would in our days, did not at bottom differ from the well-known line of Pope,

" — Every Woman is at heart a Rake."

Yet we do not hear that this Poet ſuffered any flagellation on that account, from the Court Ladies, or any other Ladies; whether it was that he prudently took care, after writing the above line, to keep for ſome time out of the way, or that the Ladies felt no reſentment at the accuſation. With reſpect to Clopinel, however, the caſe proved otherwiſe: and whether his expreſſions really had, notwithſtanding what has been above ſuggeſted, much the ſame coarſe meaning as now, or Ladies had, in thoſe days, a nicer ſenſibility to any thing that might touch their honour, the Ladies at Court were much offended at the harſh charge that was thus brought againſt the whole Sex without diſtinction: they reſolved to make the inſolent Poet properly feel the effects of their reſentment: and as they were at the ſame time firmly determined, eſpecially being Court Ladies, not to uſe any expedient but of an elegant and refined kind, they reſolved upon a flagellation. One day, accordingly, as Clopinel was coming to Court, entirely ignorant of the fate that awaited him, the Ladies, who had previouſly ſupplied themſelves with proper inſtruments, laid hold of him, and immediately proceeded to make him ready for correction. No poſſible aſſiſtance could reſcue Clopinel from

having that chaſtiſement ſerved upon him which he ſo juſtly deſerved, except his wit; which happily did not fail him in ſo imminent a danger, and ſuggeſted to him to aſk leave to ſpeak a few words. The favour was granted him, with expreſs injunction, however, to make his ſtory ſhort: when, after acknowledging the juſtice of the ſentence that had been paſſed upon him, he requeſted it, as an act of mercy, that that Lady who thought herſelf moſt affronted by his lines, ſhould give the firſt blow: this requeſt ſtruck the Ladies with ſo much ſurpriſe (owing no doubt to the fear every one of them immediately conceived, of giving an advantage againſt herſelf for which ſhe might afterwards repent) that, to uſe the expreſſion of the Author of Moreri's Dictionary, from which this fact is extracted, the rods fell from their hands, and Clopinel eſcaped unpuniſhed.

Court Ladies of more modern times, have given ſimilar inſtances of refinement and elegance in their method of revenging the affronts they had received. On this occaſion the Reader may be reminded of the caſe of the Marchioneſs of Treſnel, which has been related at length in a former place. Another inſtance of the juſtice of Ladies, ſtill more intereſting by far, occurred at the Court of Ruſſia about the year 1740. The object of the Ladies reſentment, was a Fop of

quality, lately returned from his Travels; nor will the Reader queſtion the propriety of the flagellation that was ſerved upon him, when he ſhall be informed that this preſumptuous Spark had been guilty of no leſs an offence than having publicly boaſted of having received favours which had never been ſhewn him. The fact is related in a Book intitled, *Letters from Ruſſia*, which was publiſhed by a Lady whoſe huſband reſided at that Court in a public capacity, between the years 1730 and 1740: the book is written in a pleaſing ſtyle, and contains a deal of intereſting information concerning the Ruſſian Court at that time. The Author, it is ſaid, lived a few years ago at Windſor: her Letters from Ruſſia were addreſſed to a female friend in England.

In the eleventh letter, the following account is contained. 'I long to tell you a ſtory; but your 'prudery (I beg pardon, your prudence) frightens me: however, I cannot reſiſt; ſo pop your 'fan before your face, for I am going to begin. 'We have here a young fellow of faſhion, who 'has made the tour of France, &c. &c. At his 'return he fell in company with three or four 'pretty Women at a friend's houſe, where he 'ſung, danced, laughed, was very free with the 'Ladies, and behaved quite *a-la-mode de* Paris. 'As he had given the gazing audience a ſpecimen 'of his airs, ſo he did not fail afterwards to brag

'of the fondneſs of the Ladies for him, and of 'the proofs they had given him of it. This he 'repeated in all companies, till it reached the 'ears of the huſbands, who looked glum in ſi-'lence; and at laſt, in plain terms, expreſſed the 'cauſe of their ill-humour.' To abridge the account, it will ſuffice to ſay that the Ladies reſolved to puniſh the vain-boaſting fop as he deſerved: a letter was written to him by one of them, appointing a place where ſhe was to meet him: "he flew on the wings of love to the rendezvous," perfumed, we are to ſuppoſe, and in his ſmarteſt dreſs. Though he expected to meet only one of the Ladies, he found them all four waiting for him; and inſtead of that delightful afternoon he had prepared himſelf to ſpend, he was entertained with a moſt ſerious flagellation. 'Some ſay '(continues the Author who relates this fact) 'that the Ladies actually whipped him; others, 'they ordered their maids to do it: that the pu-'niſhment was inflicted with ſo much rigour as 'to oblige him to keep his bed ſome time, is cer-'tain; but whether the Ladies were executioners 'or ſpectators only, is a doubt.'

For my own part, I ſhall be bolder than the fair Author who gives this account; and I will take upon myſelf to decide that the Ladies were *ſpectators only*. Had this young fellow of faſhion we are ſpeaking of, committed an offence of no very

grievous kind; had he, for instance, been guilty of some word, or even action, moderately indecent in the presence of the Ladies, or affronted them by some ill-timed jokes, or had he, like Clopinel, indulged himself in a bon-mot, or even a whole song, against the honour of the Sex, then we might suppose the Ladies arms, to have possessed sufficient vigour to have served him with a correction proportioned to the degree of his guilt. Not that I consider, however, as some Readers will perhaps do, the falshood of the facts he had boasted of, as being any aggravation of his offence: very far from it: it is when such facts are true, that the boasting of them is really a fault of a black nature: it is such, in my humble opinion, that no possible flagellation can atone for it; the ungrateful *Tell-tale* ought to be stitched in a bag, and thrown into the river. However, as the vain speeches of the young fellow were in themselves highly wicked, we are to suppose that the Ladies trusted the care of chastising him to more robustious hands than their own; and we must side with that part of the Public, who thought that they *ordered their Maids* to perform for them; that is to say, a set of Maid slaves selected among the stoutest of those who composed their households, Maids imported from the banks of the *Palus-meotis*, or the Black Sea, and who thought it a glorious opportunity for shewing their mistresses their zeal in serving

them. This ſuppoſition agrees extremely well with the enſuing part of the account, viz. that this vain-boaſting Coxcomb *was obliged to keep his bed ſome time:* who knows? perhaps five or ſix weeks.

The only perſonal ſhare, we are to think, the Ladies took in the affair, was, when the execution was concluded, to admoniſh the culprit as to his future conduct. Milton makes the obſervation, which is quoted by the Author of the Spectator, that the Devil ſeemed once to be ſenſible of ſhame; it was when he received a cenſure (unexpected for him, we may ſuppoſe) from a young Angel of remarkable beauty. In like manner, what muſt have been the ſhame of that young Coxcomb, who perhaps had never bluſhed in his life, when he heard himſelf addreſſed by the Ladies who had cauſed him to be ſerved with ſo juſt a chaſtiſement! what muſt have been his remorſe for his naughty behaviour! his grief in conſidering, that, had he perhaps waited patiently a little time longer, they would have willingly honoured him with their moſt valuable favours! The Lady who poſſeſſed the eaſieſt and moſt elegant delivery, advanced towards him a few ſteps; and, accompanying her ſhort ſpeech with the action of an arm of an exquiſite form and hand as white as ſnow, and with a frown on her face, which, without leſſening its beauty, gave a true expreſſion of her juſt reſentment, ſhe made him ſenſible, in few

words, of the greatneſs of his fault, and the juſtice of the chaſtiſement that had been adminiſtered to him: then turning towards the Calmouk and Tartarian Maids who had ſo well executed her former orders, ſhe directed them to ſhew him the way to the ſtreet door.

To theſe inſtances of the juſtice of Ladies, we may add thoſe of the corrections they have beſtowed upon their huſbands; as they have an undoubted right. A very remarkable caſe of that ſort is alluded to, in the I. Canto P. II. of Hudibras.

Did not a certain Lady whip
Of late her huſband's own Lordſhip?
And, though a Grandee of the Houſe,
Clawed him with fundamental blows.
Tied him ſtark-naked to a bed-poſt,
And firked his hide, as if ſh' had rid poſt;
And after, in the Seſſions Court,
Where whipping's judged, had honour for't.

The noble perſon here mentioned, was Lord Munſon: ſimilar acts of authority on their huſbands, were performed, about the ſame time, by Sir William Waller's Lady, Mrs. May, and Sir Henry Mildmay's Lady. From theſe inſtances we find, that, amidſt the general wreck of the Monarchical, Ariſtocratical, and Clerical, powers in the Nation, and while the King, Lords, and High Clergy, had their prerogatives wreſted from them and annihilated, Wives knew how to aſſert

their jurisdiction over their Husbands, and preserve their just authority. The subject however is too deep to be discussed at large here: I intend to offer more facts to the Public in a separate Work, which will be a compleat Treatise, and a kind of *Matrimonial Code* in which the true principles shall be laid concerning the rights of Wives, and the submission of Husbands *.

* The abovementioned Lord Munson had sat as one of the Judges at the King's Trial: he lived at St. Edmundsbury, when his Wife, with the assistance of her Maids, served him with a flagellation. An allusion to the same fact is also made in a song which is to be found in the Collection of *Loyal Songs*. The thanks her Ladyship received from the Sessions Court, were owing to its being generally suspected the Noble Lord had altered his political principles; for which his Wife had chastised him.

It really seems that a kind of flagellating fanaticism had taken place, in those days, in this Country, similar in many respects to that which arose in the times of Cardinal Damian and Dominic *the Cuirassed*: there was this difference however, that it had for its object to flagellate, not one's-self, but others; which was the wiser folly of the two. The thanks publicly decreed to Lady Munson (not to mention several puritanical publications of those days) are proofs of that flagellating spirit we mention; as well as the correction inflicted by Zachary Crofton upon his servant maid (see p. 238), and the pamphlet he wrote in defence of it; which was very likely grounded on certain religious tenets concerning the mortification of the flesh, &c. that were current in those times.

Thoſe Authors who have treated of the manner in which Men ought to behave in their intercourſe with the fair Sex, have been ſo ſenſible that the latter muſt unavoidably, at one time or other, have occaſion to beſtow lectures and corrections on their Suitors or Lovers (and alſo their Huſbands) that they have made it a point to theſe, to bear thoſe momentary mortifications with patience and humility, and not to think that ſuch ſubmiſſion reflects any diſhonour upon them. This is the precept expreſsly given by Ovid, in his *Art of Love*;—'Do not think it in any degree ſhameful for you, to ſubmit to the harſh words, and the blows, of the young Woman you court.'

Nec maledicta puta, nec verbera ferre puellæ
Turpe——

And indeed we find that thoſe Lovers who have beſt underſtood their buſineſs, have not only conſtantly followed the advice of Ovid, and chearfully ſubmitted to receive ſuch corrections as their Miſtreſſes were pleaſed to impoſe upon them; but when they have happened to have been involuntarily guilty of offences of a ſomewhat grievous kind, they have done more; they have, of themſelves, offered freely to ſubmit to them. Thus Polyenos, in the Satyr of Petronius, who had been guilty with Circe of one of thoſe faults

which Ladies ſo difficultly prevail upon themſelves to forgive, who had in ſhort committed that offence which the abovementioned Miller boaſted he never happened to be guilty of, wrote afterwards to her,—" If you want to kill me, I will come to you with an iron weapon; or if you are ſatisfied with ſtripes, I run naked to my Miſtreſs." *(Polyaènos Circæ ſalutem . . . . . Sive occidere placet, cum ferro venio; ſive verberibus contenta es, curro nudus ad dominam. Id tantum memento, non me, ſed inſtrumenta, peccaſſe, &c. Cap.* 130.)

The illuſtrious Count of Guiche, as we find in the Count of Buſſi's *Amorous Hiſtory of Gauls*, a Book which cauſed the diſgrace of its Author, on account of the liberties he had taken in it with the character of King Lewis the Fourteenth, and his Miſtreſs, *Madame de la Valiere*, the Count of Guiche, I ſay, one of the firſt-rate Beaux of the Court of the King juſt mentioned, behaved in the ſame manner that Polyenos had done. Having committed a fault with the well-known Counteſs of Olonne, of the ſame kind with that of Polyenos, he wrote the next day to the Counteſs in much the ſame terms as the latter had done to Circe. 'If you want me to die, I will 'bring you my ſword; if you think I only de-'ſerve to be flagellated, I will come to you in my 'ſhirt.' *(Si vous voulez ma mort, j'irai vous porter*

mon épée; ſi vous jugez que je ne mérite que le fouët, j'irai vous trouver en chemiſe.)

The celebrated Earl of Eſſex, in one of the miſunderſtandings between him, and Queen Elizabeth, having given her a more than common cauſe of offence, and wiſhing in a particular manner to ſoothe her reſentment, wrote to her in much the ſame terms as thoſe abovementioned. He gave the Queen, as we find in Camden, explicit thanks for the corrections ſhe had inflicted upon him, and kiſſed (to uſe his words, as recited by the above Author) and 'kiſſed her 'Majeſty's Royal Hand, and the rod which had 'chaſtiſed him.' Not that I propoſe, however, by quoting the above expreſſions of the Earl, poſitively to affirm that they were meant to allude to any expreſs corrections of the kind mentioned in this Book, which his Royal Miſtreſs had at any time uſed to inflict upon him, or the other perſons in her ſervice; but yet, when we, on the one hand, attend to the invariable corruption, profligacy, ſhameleſſneſs, wickedneſs, and perverſeneſs of Miniſters, ever ſince the beginning of the world, and on the other, conſider to what degree thoſe employed by the Princeſs we ſpeak of, proved juſt, and zealous for the public good, we cannot help thinking that that great and magnanimous Queen had found

out ſome very peculiar method of rendering them ſuch *.

* It came out, in a certain late debate in the Houſe of Commons (June 1783) that, among the expences in the office of a prime Miniſter, about a year before out of place, there was an article (introduced among the Stationary ware) of three hundred and forty pounds for *whip-cord*, for one year. It is very probably ſince the days of Queen Elizabeth, that this kind of commodity has been made part of the national expenditure.

CHAP. XXIII.

Formation of the public Proceſſions of Flagellants. Different ſucceſs they meet with, in different Countries.

THE example which ſo many illuſtrious perſonages had given of voluntarily ſubmitting to flagellation, and the pains which Monks had been at, to promote that method of mortification by their example likewiſe, as well as by the ſtories they related on that ſubject, had, as we have ſeen, induced the generality of people to adopt the fondeſt notions of its efficacy. But about the year 1260, the intoxication became as it were complete. People, no longer ſatisfied to practiſe mortifications of this kind in private, began to perform them in ſight of the Public, under pretence of greater humiliation: regular aſſociations and fraternities were formed for that purpoſe; and numerous bodies of half-naked Men began to make their appearance in the public ſtreets, who after performing a few re-

ligious ceremonies contrived for the occaſion, flagellated themſelves with aſtoniſhing fanaticiſm and cruelty.

The firſt inſtitution of public Aſſociations and Solemnities of this kind, muſt needs have filled with ſurpriſe all moderate perſons in thoſe days; and in fact we ſee that Hiſtorians of different Countries, who lived in the times when theſe ceremonies were firſt introduced, have taken much notice of them, and recorded them at length in their Hiſtories or Chronicles. I will lay extracts from a few of theſe different Books, before the Reader; it being the beſt manner, I think, of acquainting him with the origin of theſe ſingular flagellating ſolemnities and proceſſions, which continue in uſe in ſeveral Countries.

The firſt Author from whom we have a circumſtantial account on that ſubject, is that Monk of St. Juſtina, in Padua, whoſe Chronicle Wechelius printed afterwards at Baſil. He relates how the public ſuperſtitious ceremonies we mention, made their firſt appearance in the Country in the neighbourhood of Bologna; which is the ſpot where, it ſeems, they took their firſt origin, and whence they were afterwards communicated to other Countries. The following is the above Author's own account.

" When all Italy was ſullied with crimes of every kind, a certain ſudden ſuperſtition, hitherto unknown to the world, firſt ſeized the inhabitants of Peruſa, afterwards the Romans, and then almoſt all the Nations of Italy. To ſuch a degree were they affected with the fear of God, that noble as well as ignoble perſons, young and old, even children five years of age, would go naked about the ſtreets, with only their private parts covered, and, without any ſenſe of ſhame, thus walked in public, two and two, in the manner of a ſolemn proceſſion. Every one of them held in his hand a ſcourge made of leather thongs, and with tears and groans they laſhed themſelves on their backs, till the blood ran; all the while weeping and giving tokens of the ſame bitter affliction as if they had really been ſpectators of the paſſion of our Saviour, imploring the forgiveneſs of God and his Mother, and praying that He who had been appeaſed by the repentance of ſo many Sinners, would not diſdain theirs.

" And not only in the day time, but likewiſe during the nights, hundreds, thouſands, and ten thouſands of theſe Penitents, ran, notwithſtanding the rigour of winter, about the ſtreets, and in churches, with lighted wax-candles in their hands, and preceded by Prieſts

who carried croſſes and banners along with them, and with humility proſtrated themſelves before the altars: the ſame ſcenes were to be ſeen in ſmall Towns and Villages; ſo that the mountains and the fields ſeemed to reſound alike the voice of Men who were crying to God.

" All muſical inſtruments and love ſongs then ceaſed to be heard. The only Muſic that prevailed, both in Town and Country, was that of the lugubrious voice of the Penitent, whoſe mournful accents might have moved hearts of flint; and even the eyes of the obdurate Sinner could not refrain from tears *.'

" Nor were Women exempt from the general ſpirit of devotion we mention: for not only thoſe among the common people, but alſo Matrons and young Maidens of noble families, would perform the ſame mortifications with modeſty, in their own rooms. Then

* *Siluerunt tunc tempore omnia muſica inſtrumenta & amatoriæ cantilenæ. Sola cantio pœnitentis lugubris audiebatur ubique, tam in civitatibus quam in villis, ad cujus flebilem modulationem corda ſaxea movebantur, & obſtinatorum oculi lacrymis non poterant continere.*———This Monk of St. Juſtina, whoſe account is here tranſlated at length, was certainly no mean Writer: he was quite another Man than the *Abbé Boileau*.

thoſe who were at enmity with one another, became again friends. Uſurers and Robbers haſtened to reſtore their ill-gotten riches to their right owners. Others, who were contaminated with different crimes, confeſſed them with humility, and renounced their vanities. Gaols were opened; priſoners were delivered; and baniſhed perſons permitted to return to their native habitations. So many and ſo great works of ſanctity and chriſtian charity, in ſhort, were then performed by both Men and Women, that it ſeemed as if an univerſal apprehenſion had ſeized Mankind, that the divine Power was preparing either to conſume them by fire, or deſtroy them by ſhaking the earth, or ſome other of thoſe means which divine Juſtice knows how to employ for avenging crimes.

"Such a ſudden repentance, which had thus diffuſed itſelf all over Italy, and had even reached other Countries, not only the unlearned, but wiſe perſons alſo admired. They wondered whence ſuch a vehement fervour of piety could have proceeded; eſpecially ſince ſuch public penances and ceremonies had been unheard of in former times, had not been approved by the ſovereign Pontiff, who was then reſiding at Anagni, nor recommended by any Preacher or perſon of eminence, but had

taken their origin among ſimple perſons, whoſe example both learned and unlearned had alike followed."

The Ceremonies we mention were ſoon imitated, as the ſame Author remarks, by the other Nations of Italy: though they, at firſt, met with oppoſition in ſeveral places, from divers Princes, or Governments, in that Country. Pope Alexander the Fourth, for inſtance, who had fixed his See at Anagni, refuſed at firſt, as hath been above ſaid, to give his ſanction to them; and Clement VI. who had been Archbiſhop of Sens, in France, in ſubſequent times condemned thoſe public flagellations by a Bull for that purpoſe (A. 1349). Manfredus, likewiſe, who was Maſter of Sicily and Apulia, and Palavicinus, Marquis of Cremona, Breſcia, and Milan, prohibited the ſame proceſſions in the Countries under their dominion; though, on the other hand, many Princes as well as Popes countenanced them, either in the ſame times, or afterwards.

This ſpirit of public penance and devotion was in time communicated to other Countries; it even reached ſo far as Greece, as we are informed by Nicephorus Gregoras, who wrote in the year 1361. Attempts were likewiſe made to introduce ceremonies of the ſame kind into Poland, as Baronius ſays in his An-

nals; but they were at firſt prohibited: nor did they meet, at the ſame period, with more encouragement in Bohemia, as Dubravius relates in his Hiſtory of that Country.

In Germany, however, the Sect, or Fraternity, of the Flagellants proved more ſucceſsful. We find a very full account of the firſt flagellating proceſſions that were made in that Country, in the year 1349 (a time during which the plague was raging there) in the Chronicle of Albert of Straſbourg, who lived during that period.

"As the plague (ſays the above Author) was beginning to make its appearance, People then began in Germany to flagellate themſelves in public proceſſions. Two hundred came, at one time, from the Country of Schwaben to Spira, having a principal Leader at their head, beſides two ſubordinate ones, to whoſe commands they paid implicit obedience. When they had paſſed the Rhine, at one o'clock in the afternoon, crouds of people ran to ſee them. They then drew a circular line on the ground, within which they placed themſelves. There they ſtripped off their clothes, and only kept upon themſelves a kind of ſhort ſhirt, which ſerved them inſtead of breeches, and reached from the waiſt down to their heels: this done, they placed

themſelves on the above circular line, and began to walk one after another around it, with their arms ſtretched in the ſhape of a Croſs; thus forming among themſelves a kind of proceſſion. Having continued this proceſſion a little while, they proſtrated themſelves on the ground, and afterwards roſe one after another, in a regular manner, every one of them, as he got up, giving a ſtroke with his ſcourge to the next, who in his turn likewiſe roſe, and ſerved the following one in the ſame manner. They then began diſciplining themſelves with their ſcourges, which were armed with knots and four iron points, all the while ſinging the uſual Pſalm of the invocation of our Lord, and other Pſalms: three of them were placed in the middle of the ring, who, with a ſonorous voice, regulated the chaunt of the others, and diſciplined themſelves in the ſame manner. This having continued for ſome time, they ceaſed their diſcipline; and then, at a certain ſignal that was given them, proſtrated themſelves on their knees, with their arms ſtretched, and threw themſelves flat on the ground, groaning and ſobbing. They then roſe, and heard an admonition from their Leader, who exhorted them to implore the mercy of God on the people, on both their benefactors and enemies, and on the ſouls in

Purgatory: then they placed themſelves again upon their knees, with their hands lifted towards heaven, performed the ſame ceremonies as before, and diſciplined themſelves anew, as they walked round. This done, they put on their clothes again; and thoſe who had been left to take care of the clothes and the luggage, came forwards, and went through the ſame ceremonies as the former had done. They had among them Prieſts, and noble as well as ignoble perſons, and men converſant with letters.

"When the diſciplines were concluded, one of the brotherhood roſe, and with a loud voice, read a letter, which he pretended had been brought by an Angel to St. Peter's Church, in Jeruſalem: the Angel declared in it, that Jeſus Chriſt was offended at the wickedneſs of the age, ſeveral inſtances of which were mentioned, ſuch as the violation of the Lord's day, blaſphemy, uſury, adultery, and neglect with reſpect to faſting on Fridays. To this the Man who read the letter added, that Jeſus Chriſt's forgiveneſs having been implored by the Holy Virgin and the Angels, he had made anſwer, that in order to obtain mercy, ſinners ought to live exiled from their Country for thirty-four days, diſciplining themſelves during that time.

" The inhabitants of the Town of Spira were moved with ſo much compaſſion for theſe Penitents, that they invited every one of them to their houſes: they however refuſed to receive alms ſeverally, and only accepted what was given to their Society in general, in order to buy twiſted wax-candles, and banners. Theſe banners were of ſilk, painted of a purple colour: they carried them in their proceſſions, which they performed twice every day. They never ſpoke to Women, and refuſed to ſleep upon feather-beds. They wore croſſes upon their coats and hats, behind and before, and had their ſcourges hanging at their waiſt.

" About an hundred Men, in the Town of Spira, inliſted in their Society, and about a thouſand at Straſburgh, who promiſed obedience to the Superiors, for the time abovementioned. They admitted nobody but who engaged to obſerve all the above rules during that time, who could ſpend at leaſt four-pence a day, leſt he ſhould be obliged to beg, and who declared that he had confeſſed his ſins, forgiven his enemies, and obtained the conſent of his Wife. They divided at Straſburgh: one part went up, and another part down, the Country; their Superiors having likewiſe divided. The latter directed the new

brothers from Straſbourgh, not to diſcipline themſelves too harſhly in the beginning; and multitudes of people flocked from the Country up and down the Rhine, as well as the inland Country, in order to ſee them. After they had left Spira, about two hundred Boys twelve years old, entered into an Aſſociation together, and diſciplined themſelves in public."

Flagellating proceſſions and Solemnities of the ſame kind, were likewiſe introduced into France, where they met, at firſt, with but indifferent ſucceſs; and even ſeveral Divines oppoſed them. The moſt remarkable among them was John Gerſon, a celebrated Theologian, and Chancellor of the Univerſity of Paris, who purpoſely wrote a Treatiſe againſt the ceremonies in queſtion, in which he particularly condemned the cruelty and great effuſion of blood with which theſe diſciplines were performed. 'It is equally unlawful (Gerſon 'aſſerted) for a Man to draw ſo much blood 'from his own body, unleſs it be for medical 'reaſons, as it would be for him to caſtrate 'or otherwiſe mutilate himſelf. Elſe it might 'upon the ſame principle be advanced, that 'a Man may brand himſelf with red-hot 'irons; a thing which nobody hath, as yet, 'either pretended to ſay, or granted, unleſs it 'be falſe Chriſtians and Idolaters, ſuch as are

'to be found in India, who think it a matter 'of duty for one to be baptized through fire.'

Under King Henry the Third, however, the proceſſions of Diſciplinants found much favour in France; and the King we mention, a weak and bigoted Prince, not only encouraged theſe ceremonies by his words, but even went ſo far as to inliſt himſelf in a Fraternity of Flagellants. The example thus given by the King, procured a great number of Aſſociates to the Brotherhood; and ſeveral Fraternities were formed at Court, which were diſtinguiſhed by different colours, and compoſed of a number of Men of the firſt families in the Kingdom. Theſe proceſſions, thus formed of the King and his noble train of Diſciplinants, all equipped like Flagellants, frequently made their appearance in the public Streets of Paris, going from one Church to another; and in one of thoſe naked proceſſions, the Cardinal of Lorrain, who had joined in it, caught ſuch a cold, it being about Chriſtmas time, that he died a few days afterwards. The following is the account to be found on that ſubject, in the *Preſident J. A. de Thou's* Hiſtory of his own times.

"While the civil war was thus carrying on, on both ſides, ſcenes of quite a different kind were to be ſeen at Court; where the

King, who was naturally of a religious temper, and fond of ceremonies unknown to Antiquity, and who had formerly had an opportunity to indulge this fancy in a Country subjected to the Pope's dominion, would frequently join in the proceſſions which maſked Men uſed to perform, on the days before Chriſtmas.

" For more than an hundred years paſt, a fondneſs for introducing new modes of worſhip into the eſtabliſhed Religion, had prevailed; and a ſect of Men had riſen, who, thinking it meritorious to manifeſt the compunction they felt for their offences, by outward ſigns, would put on a ſack-cloth, in the ſame manner it it was ordered by the antient Law; and from a ſtrained interpretation they gave of the paſſage in the Pſalmiſt, *ad flagella paratus ſum*, flagellated themſelves in public; whence they were called by the name of *Flagellants*. John Gerſon, the Chancellor of the Univerſity of Paris, and the pureſt Theologian of that age, wrote a Book againſt them. Yet the holy Pontiffs, conſidering then that Sect with more indulgence than former ones had done, ſhewed much countenance to it; ſo that multitudes of Men, all over Italy, in theſe days inliſt in it, as in a kind of a religious militia, thinking to obtain by that means

forgiveneſs of their ſins. Diſtinguiſhed by different colours, blue, white, and black, in the ſame manner as the Green and Blue factions, though propoſing to themſelves different objects, were formerly in Rome, they likewiſe engroſſed the attention of the public, and in ſeveral places gave riſe to the warmeſt contentions.

" The introduction which was made of theſe ceremonies into France, where they had till then been almoſt unknown, forwarded the deſigns of certain ambitious perſons; the contempt they brought on the perſon of the King, having weakened much the regal authority. While the King mixed thus with proceſſions of Flagellants, and the moſt diſtinguiſhed among his Courtiers followed his example, Charles, Cardinal of Lorrain, who was one of the party, was, by the coldneſs of the evening, thrown into a violent fever, attended with a moſt intenſe pain in his head; and a delirium as well as continual watchfulneſs having followed, he expired two days before Chriſtmas."

The Hiſtorian we have juſt quoted ſays, in another place, that the King was principally induced to perform the above ſuperſtitious proceſſions, by the ſolicitations of his Confeſſor, Father Edmund Auger, who wrote a

Book on that ſubject, and of John Caſtelli, the Apoſtolic Nuntio in France; and that the weak complaiſance ſhewn to him on that occaſion, by the Chancellor Birague, and the Keeper of the Seals, Chiverny, encouraged him much to purſue his plan in that reſpect, notwithſtanding the ſtrong advices to the contrary, that were given him by Chriſtopher de Thou, Preſident of the Parliament, and Pierre Brulart, Preſident of the *Chambre des Enquêtes*.

As there was, in thoſe times, a powerful party in France, that oppoſed the Court, and even was frequently at open war with it, there was no want of Men, in Paris, who found fault with the diſciplining proceſſions of the King. When they firſt made their appearance, ſome, as the above Hiſtorian relates, laughed at them, while others exclaimed that they were an inſult both to God and Man. Even Preachers joined in the party, and pointed their ſarcaſms from the pulpit againſt thoſe ceremonies.

The moſt petulant among theſe popular Preachers, was one Maurice Poncet, of the Abbey of Melun, who, uſing expreſſions borrowed from a Pſalm, compared the King and his brother Diſciplinants, to Men who would cover themſelves with a wet ſack-cloth, to

keep off the rain: he was at laſt baniſhed to his Monaſtery. The example which the Court, and the Metropolis, had ſet, was followed in a number of Country Towns, where fraternities of Flagellants were inſtituted; and among them particular mention is made of the Brotherhood of the *Blue Penitents*, in the City of Bourges, on account of the Sentence paſſed in the year 1601, by the Parliament of Paris, in conſequence of a motion of Nicolas Servin, the King's Advocate General, which expreſsly abeliſhed it *.

* It has no doubt been perceived, that, in the courſe of this Work, I have commonly taken care to conclude the different Chapters into which it is divided, with a Note or Commentary of a certain length, upon the ſame ſubject with the Chapter itſelf, though of a leſs grave and ſerious turn. This precaution I thought neceſſary for the relief of the Reader, after the great exertion of his mind, occaſioned by the weighty objects that had juſt been offered to his conſideration. Such final Note I conſidered as a farce, after a ſerious and moral Drama, and as a kind of *petite piece*, or if you pleaſe, of interlude, calculated to revive the exhauſted ſpirits of the Rea-

der, and enable him to begin a freſh Chapter with alacrity.

On this occaſion, however, I find great difficulty in purſuing the ſame plan. The proceſſions of Diſciplinants that have juſt been deſcribed, are ſuch a diſmal and gloomy ſubject, that it ſuggeſts no ideas but what are of a ſerious kind; it precludes all thoughts of mirth and jocularity; and I deſpair, in this Note, of being able to entertain the Reader ſo well as I flatter myſelf I have ſucceeded in doing in the former ones.

The flagellating practices and ceremonies alluded to in this Chapter, are certainly moſt aſtoniſhing facts in the Hiſtory of Man: and if any thing renders our ſurpriſe leſs than it otherwiſe would be, it is the conſideration that ſuch practices have not been imagined on a ſudden, and at once, but have been the reſult of a long ſeries of ſlow innovations, introduced by different perſons, at different times, and in places remote from one another.

Beſides, it really ſeems that there is a ſecret propenſity in Mankind, for arduous modes of worſhip of all kinds. The obſervation has been made, that in the Science of Moral, ſpeculatively conſidered, Men, whatever may be their private conduct, are moſt pleaſed with ſuch maxims as are moſt rigid; and ſo, with reſpect to religious rites, do they ſeem to be moſt taken with, and

moſt ſtrongly to adhere to, ſuch as are moſt laborious, and even painful.

We ſee, in fact, that bodily auſterities of a cruel kind, performed with religious intentions, have obtained among almoſt all the Nations in the World; and ſelf-ſcourgings, in particular, were practiſed with views of this kind among almoſt all the Nations of antiquity of whom accounts have been left us: on which the Reader is referred to the ſixth Chapter of this Book.

The ſame practice we mention, beſides the advantage of its obviouſneſs to recommend it, had in its favour, with Chriſtians, the farther circumſtance of its being in a manner ſanctified by the Hiſtory itſelf of the facts on which their religion is grounded. As a puniſhment of that kind made expreſs part of the ill treatment which our Saviour underwent, the thoughts of pious perſons were naturally directed to a mode of mortification of which ſo frequent mention was made in books, hymns, ſermons, and religious converſations: hence has it happened, that the practices here alluded to, have been much more conſtantly and univerſally adopted by Chriſtians, than by the profeſſors of any other Religion.

A difference, however, took place in the above reſpect, between the Eaſtern and the Weſtern Chriſtians. As the Chriſtians who were ſettled in the Eaſt, lived almoſt always in the midſt of hoſ-

tile Nations, and beſides, never formed among themſelves any very numerous ſect, they never went ſuch lengths in their opinions, nor gave into ſuch extravagant practices, as the Chriſtians in the Weſt. They had not, for inſtance, adopted the fond notions ſince entertained by the latter, on the efficaciouſneſs of ſelf-flagellations to atone for paſt ſins. Their religious notions had taken a different turn. They generally conſidered a certain deep ſenſe of paſt offences, a ſtate of unbounded contrition for the ſame, as the competent means of atonement. They conſidered tears as the laſt ſtage of ſuch contrition, and in a manner a neceſſary token of it. Shedding tears was, therefore, the thing they aimed at, in all their devotional acts: ſelf-ſcourging was thought by them to be an excellent expedient for obtaining ſo happy an effect; and they hence reſorted to it, not (as hath been done in the Weſt) as to a direct and immediate method of compenſating paſt ſins, but only as to a ſubſidiary operation, and a means which, they ſagaciouſly thought, would ſoon bring them to the requiſite ſtate of tears and ſalutary compunction.

Of this turn of the devotion of the Eaſtern Chriſtians, as well as of the ends they propoſed to themſelves in their acts of ſelf-flagellation, we find proofs in the few inſtances that have been left us in Books, of their having performed acts of

that ſort: I ſhall relate the following one, which is to be found in the work of Gabriel, Archbiſhop of Philadelphia, intitled Πατερικὰ, or Collection of actions of Fathers, or Saints.

A certain Saint had come to a reſolution of renouncing the World, and had fixed his habitation on the celebrated Mountain of Nitria, in Thebaid; and next to the cell to which he had retired, was that of another Saint, whom he heard every day bitterly weep for his ſins. Finding himſelf unable to weep in the ſame manner, and heartily envying the happineſs of the other Saint, he one day ſpoke to himſelf in the following terms: 'You do not cry, you wretch; you do 'not weep for your ſins. I will make you cry; 'I will make you weep by force, ſince you will 'not do it of your own accord; I will make you 'grieve for your ſins, as you ought:' ſaying which, he took up in a paſſion a large ſcourge that lay by him, and laid laſhes upon himſelf ſo thick and in ſo effectual a manner, that he ſoon brought himſelf to that happy ſtate which was the object of his ambition.

Another inſtance of the manner of the devotion of the Eaſtern Chriſtians, is ſupplied by the paſſage in St. John Climax, that has been recited at pag. 121. Both the Oppoſers, and the Promoters, of the practice of ſelf-flagellation, have gone too far in their interpretations of that paſ-

ſage. The latter have aſſerted that it expreſsly alluded to religious diſciplines, performed in the ſame manner, and with the ſame views, as they now are in modern Monaſteries; while the former have been as poſitive that it meant no ſuch thing as *beating* or *ſcourging*, and is only to be underſtood of the lamentations of the Monks in the Monaſtery in queſtion, that is, in a bare figurative manner. The paſſage in St. John Climax is this: 'Some among the Monks watered the pavement 'with their tears, while others, who could not 'ſhed any, beat themſelves.' The expreſſion uſed in this paſſage, to ſay that ſome among the Monks beat themſelves, is certainly as preciſe as any the Greek language can ſupply; yet neither does it ſupply a ſufficient proof that they performed, in the above Monaſtery, regular and periodical flagellations of the ſame kind with thoſe that have been ſince uſed in the Weſtern Monaſteries, in the times of Cardinal Damian, and the Widow Cechald: the ſelf-flagellations alluded to, in the paſſage we ſpeak of, appear to have been of the ſame kind with thoſe performed by the Saint of the Mountain of Nitria who has been abovementioned, and were calculated to enable thoſe who could not weep, to weep plentifully.

But among the Weſtern Chriſtians, as the extenſive Country over which they became in time to be ſpread, without any intervening opponents,

afforded a vaſt field for innovations of every kind, they, as hath been above ſaid, went the greateſt lengths in their opinions concerning the uſefulneſs of the practices we mention, to which the Hiſtory of their Religion had at firſt given riſe.

In the firſt place, mortifications of the kind here alluded to, were uſed among them from notions of much the ſame ſort with thoſe entertained by the Eaſtern Chriſtians, that is, with a view of ſanctifying themſelves by their repentance, and aſſiſting their compunction.

In the ſecond place, they were actuated by a ſenſe of love for Jeſus Chriſt, and a deſire of uniting themſelves to him in his ſufferings. The intention we ſpeak of, is particularly recommended in the Statutes of different religious Orders; and the Brothers are exhorted in them, 'when 'they inflict diſcipline upon themſelves, to call to 'their mind Jeſus Chriſt, their moſt amiable 'Lord, faſtened to the column, and to endeavour 'to experience a few of thoſe exceſſive pains he 'was made to endure.' This notion of religious perſons, which proceeds from an unbounded ſenſe of gratitude towards their Divine Saviour, from a wiſh of repaying in any manner the immenſe ſervice he had conferred upon them in ſaving them from deſtruction, and of at leaſt ſharing his ſufferings, ſince they cannot alleviate them, has certainly ſomething intereſting in its principle.

But the moſt univerſal uſe, by far, that has been made of flagellatory diſciplines among Chriſtians, in theſe parts of the world, has been to atone for paſt ſins. And indeed it is no wonder that a practice of ſo convenient a kind, which enabled every one, by means of an operation of the duration and ſeverity of which he was the ſole judge, to pay, as he thought, an adequate price for every offence he might have committed, and ſilence a troubleſome conſcience whenever he pleaſed, ſhould ſo eaſily gain ground, and meet with ſo much favour, not only from the vulgar, but alſo from great Men, and even Kings; to whom we may no doubt add their Miniſters.

Among the ſuperſtitious notions that may be hurtful to Society, it is difficult to imagine one of a worſe tendency than that here mentioned, the immediate conſequence of which is to render uſeleſs all the diſtinctions implanted in the human mind between evil and good, and, by making offenders eaſy with themſelves, to take off the only puniſhment that is left for the greater number of crimes. When notions like theſe were adopted by Kings, with reſpect to whom human laws are ſilent, the conſequences were pernicious in the extreme; practices of this ſort became as dangerous to the peace and happineſs of their ſubjects, as they would have been conducive to them, if the diſciplines we ſpeak of, inſtead of being in

flicted upon ſuch high Offenders, every time they were conſcious they deſerved them, by the hands of Confeſſors aiming at Biſhopricks, or under fear of dungeons, had been dealt them to the full ſatisfaction of a Jury compoſed of impartial perſons, and nowiſe afraid to ſpeak their minds.

Theſe notions of the uſefulneſs of ſelf-flagellations, were carried to a moſt extravagant pitch by a Sect formed of thoſe itinerant Diſciplinants, accounts of whom have been above given. Proud of the cruel diſciplines they inflicted upon themſelves, they looked upon them as being of far greater merit than the practice of any Chriſtian virtue; and they at laſt formed among themſelves a particular Sect of Heretics, who were called *Flagellants*. The title of *Hiſtory of the Flagellants*, which the Abbé Boileau has given to his Work, might ſeem to indicate that he intended to write an Hiſtory of that Sect, and of thoſe public proceſſions of Diſciplinants which have ſucceeded it: yet, he only mentions that Sect and thoſe Proceſſions in his uſual looſe manner, in his ninth Chapter, without even diſtinguiſhing the one from the other. The proper title of his book (and of this, which is imitated from it) ſhould be, *The Hiſtory of religious Flagellations among different Nations, and eſpecially among Chriſtians.*

Among the different tenets of the Hereticks we ſpeak of, were the following. They pretended

that the blood they ſhed, during their flagellations, was mixed with that of Jeſus Chriſt;—that ſelf-flagellations made confeſſion uſeleſs;—that they were more meritorious than martyrdom, for they were voluntary, which martyrdom was not;—that baptiſm by water was of no uſe, as every true Chriſtian muſt be baptized in his own blood;—that flagellation could atone for all paſt and future offences, and ſupplied the want of all other good works. To theſe tenets, and to ſeveral others of the ſame ſort, they added Stories of different kinds; ſuch as that of the abovementioned letter brought from Heaven by an Angel, to order ſelf-flagellations; they gave out that a certain Brother of their Sect, who lived at Erford in Thuringe, was Elias; and that another, whoſe name was Conrad Smith, was Enoch, &c. &c.

As the principles maintained by theſe Hereticks, were deſtructive of moſt of the eſſential tenets received by the Church, this reaſon, together with the cruelties they practiſed upon themſelves, and in general their fanaticiſm, which really was of a deſpicable kind, cauſed Pope Clement IV. to iſſue a Bull againſt them, in the year 1350; and ſeveral Princes expreſsly prohibited that Sect, in the places under their dominion.

From thoſe Hereticks, muſt therefore be diſtinguiſhed the common Fraternities of Diſciplinants, which continue in theſe days to be eſtabliſhed in

ſeveral Countries. Theſe Fraternities are compoſed of good orthodox Chriſtians, who do not in any degree pretend that their diſciplines ſuperſede the neceſſity of Baptiſm or Confeſſion, or of any other Sacrament; who tell no ſtories about Elias, or Enoch; who dutifully ſubſcribe to all the tenets, without exception, recommended by the Church, and above all pay implicit obedience to the authority of the Heads of it. They are Aſſociations of much the ſame kind with common Clubs, or if you pleaſe, like Lodges of Freemaſons: they have a ſtock of effects and furniture belonging to the Fraternity, ſuch as banners, crucifixes, ornaments for altars, and ſo on; and each contributes a certain ſmall ſum annually, for keeping the above effects in repair, and defraying the expences of paying the muſic, feeing Prieſts, and others of a like kind: they have, beſides, peculiar Statutes, not unlike the Articles of a common Club.

The principal engagement of theſe Fraternities is to diſcipline themſelves in times of great Solemnities; ſuch as the Sundays in the Advent, the Sundays before Palm-Sunday, on Maunday Thurſday, and certain days during the Carnival. On theſe days they walk about Towns in regular proceſſions. They carry along with them banners, painted with the appropriated colour of the Brotherhood: the Brothers are equipped in a pe-

culiar kind of dreſs for the occaſion, all wearing, beſides, maſks over their faces. With this apparatus they viſit different Churches, exhibiting an appearance which, when ſeen from ſome diſtance, is not unlike that of the trading Companies, in London, on a Lord Mayor's Day; and their banners, together with the other ornaments they diſplay, cut a figure not very ſhort of the *paraphernalia* of the City.

In the principal Church whence they ſet off, and perhaps alſo in thoſe which they viſit, they hear a ſhort ſermon from a Prieſt, on the Paſſion of our Saviour; and as ſoon as the Prieſt has ſaid the words, "let us mend and grow better" *(emendemus in melius)* the diſciplines begin with the ſinging of the *Miſerere*, and are continued in the ſtreets, as they walk in proceſſion. By one Article of their Statutes, it is ordered that no Brother ſhall put a Man to diſcipline himſelf in his ſtead. Plenty of Indulgences are granted to thoſe who diſcharge their duty on thoſe occaſions. And moreover, Biſhops are ordered to inſpect, in their reſpective Dioceſes, the Fraternities there eſtabliſhed, and examine their Statutes, in order to ſtrike out ſuch articles as may contain ſeeds of Hereſy.

Fraternities of this kind obtain in moſt of the Catholic Countries in Europe; though with dif-

ferent encouragement from their different Governments.

In France they were, as hath been above ſaid, in the greateſt favour at Court, under Henry the Third: this Prince, who, before he was called to the Throne on the death of his Brother, had given every hope of an able warrior, and a great King, having inliſted in one of theſe Fraternities. As a powerful party was at that time ſet up, in France, againſt the authority of the Crown, and moſt of the people in Paris favoured that party, the King had attempted to overaw them by a diſplay of Majeſty, and being conſtantly accompanied when he made his appearance in public, by a numerous body of Halberdiers; but this not having ſucceeded, he tried to amuſe the People by public ſhews; and in that view, as a Writer of thoſe times ſays, inſtituted in Paris Fraternities of Penitents, in which he made himſelf a Brother. This expedient, however, did not ſucceed: theſe diſciplining proceſſions only ſerved to bring ſarcaſms upon the Court, and the King himſelf; and among them that of Maurice Poncet has been recorded, who, beſides other invectives he delivered from the pulpit, compared the diſciplining Penitents, as hath been abovementioned, to men who ſhould cover themſelves with a wet cloth to keep off the rain. This reflection of Poncet was thought to be the more pointed, as, the very day before, the King

had walked in a proceſſion of Penitents, during which a moſt heavy ſhower of rain had fallen, and the King with his Chancellor, and the whole train of Diſciplinants, had been thoroughly ſoaked. The King was informed, the next day, of the jeſt of Poncet; and this, together no doubt with the remembrance of the rain of the day before, cauſed him to be much incenſed againſt the Preacher: however, as notwithſtanding his vices and weakneſs, he was a Man of the mildeſt temper, as well as of unbounded liberality, he contented himſelf with having the Monk ſent back to his Convent.

In ſubſequent times, that is in the year 1601, under the reign of Henry IV. a Sentence was paſſed, as hath been abovementioned, by the Parliament of Paris, to aboliſh the Fraternity of the *Blue Penitents*, in the City of Bourges. The motive of the Parliament was not, however, their tender care for the ſkin of theſe Blue Penitents: but that Fraternity had been rendered a kind of political Aſſociation againſt the reigning King, who was during his whole life perſecuted by bigotry, till he fell a victim to it at laſt; and they had joined ſeveral treaſonable declarations and engagements, to their Statutes: for this reaſon the Fraternity was forbidden to meet again, under pain of being proſecuted as guilty of High Treaſon. From that time Brotherhoods of Penitents

have been conſtantly diſcountenanced in France; and they are continued only in ſome Towns in the Southern Provinces, diſtant from the Metropolis.

But the Countries in which the proceſſions we mention (which certainly are as extraordinary as any ceremony of which any Religion affords an inſtance) are moſt prevalent, and where they are in a manner naturalized, are, Italy, and Spain.

In the latter Country, in Spain, the flagellating Solemnities we ſpeak of, have received a peculiar turn from the peculiar manners of the Inhabitants; and they are (which is certainly extraordinary) as well operations or ſcenes of gallantry, as acts of devotion. Lovers will frequently go, at the head of a proceſſion of friends, and diſcipline themſelves under the windows of their Miſtreſſes: or, when they paſs by chance under theſe windows, with a proceſſion to which they belong, they redouble the ſmartneſs of their flagellations. All Diſciplinants in general, ſhew attentions of the ſame kind to ſuch Ladies as they meet in their way, when theſe Ladies appear to them poſſeſſed of ſome charms; and when the latter engage their attention in a peculiar manner, they never fail, eſpecially if the proceſſion happens to move ſlowly or to ſtop, by means of the increaſed briſkneſs of their flagellations and ſkilful motions of their diſciplines, plentifully to ſprinkle them with their

blood. Theſe facts are atteſted by all Travellers; and *Madame* d'Aunoy among others, a French Lady of quality who in the laſt Century publiſhed a relation of her journey into Spain, a Book written with judgment, after giving an account of the ſame facts with thoſe above to the friend to whom ſhe wrote, adds that what ſhe relates is literally true, and without any exaggeration. The Ladies who are the cauſe of this increaſed zeal of the Diſciplinants, and to whom ſuch an agreeable piece of courtſhip is addreſſed, reward the latter by raiſing the veil which covers their face, or even are obliged by the Byſtanders to do ſo (*deſta-par*, as they call it) in much the ſame manner as the croud which ſtands at the door of a Houſe where there is a maſquerade, will, in this Country, oblige the maſks, as they get into, or out of the Houſe, to uncover their faces.

How the Spaniſh Ladies can be pleaſed with feats of that kind, is certainly difficu't to underſtand; unleſs it be that, with Ladies, the bare intention of ſhewing them courteſy, is enough to procure their good-will; or perhaps alſo it may be, that the extreme gracefulneſs with which the diſciplines we mention, are performed, has the power of rendering them pleaſing to the Ladies. An opinion of this kind has been delivered by the Author of Hudibras:

" Why may not whipping have as good
" A grace, perform'd in time and mood,
" With comely movement, and by art,
" Raiſe a paſſion in a Lady's heart?"

This power of the graces to render whipping agreeable, is certainly a ſtrong argument in their favour, and well worth adding to thoſe urged in their behalf, in a certain celebrated publication of late times.

That Diſciplinants in Spain, flagellate themſelves with the extreme gracefulneſs we mention, is a fact about which no doubt is to be entertained: nay, there are Maſters in moſt Towns, whoſe expreſs buſineſs is to teach the time, mood, comely movements and arts, above deſcribed, and in ſhort to ſhew how to perform diſciplines with elegance.——Fielding, in one of his Works, has inſerted an advertiſement of the celebrated Broughton which had juſt made its appearance, by which the latter offered his ſervices to the public, to inſtruct them in the art of boxing, and all the myſteries of it: that Author thought poſterity would be extremely glad to meet with that intereſting and incontrovertible monument of the manners of the times in which he wrote: an advertiſement from one of the Spaniſh flagellating Maſters we ſpeak of, would, in like manner, be extremely proper to be produced in this place; and if I do not inſert here the copy of any ſuch ad-

vertiſement, the reader may be perſuaded that it is ſolely becauſe I have none in my poſſeſſion.

When the Gentlemen who propoſe to diſcipline themſelves in honour of their Miſtreſſes, are of conſiderable rank, the ceremony is then performed with great ſtate and magnificence. Madame D'Aunoy relates that the day the Duke of Vejar diſciplined himſelf, an hundred white wax-candles were carried before the proceſſion: the Duke was preceded by ſixty of his friends (vaſſals perhaps, or dependents) and followed by an hundred, all attended by their own pages and footmen; and beſides them there were no doubt abundance of Prieſts and crucifixes.

As theſe Spaniſh Gallants have no leſs honour than devotion, battles frequently take place between them, for the aſſertion of their juſt prerogatives; and this, for inſtance, ſeldom fails to be the caſe when two proceſſions happen to meet in the ſame ſtreet: each party think they are intitled to the moſt honourable ſide of the way; and a ſcuffle is the conſequence. This happened at the time of the proceſſion of the abovementioned Duke of Vejar: another proceſſion, conducted by the Marquis of Villahermoſa, entered the ſame ſtreet, at the other end of it: the light-armed troops, otherwiſe the ſervants with their lighted long wax-candles, began the engagement, bedawbing the clothes, and ſingeing the whiſkers and

hair of each other; then the body of Infantry, that is to say the Gentlemen with their swords, made their appearance, and continued the battle; and at last the two noble Champions themselves met, and began a fight with their disciplines (another instance of Penitents using their disciplines as weapons, is, if I mistake not, to be found in Don Quixote) the two noble Champions, I say, began a smart engagement with each other; their self-flagellations were for a while changed, with great rapidity, into mutual ones; and their weapons being demolished, they were about to begin a closer kind of fight, when their friends interfered, and parted them: the high sharp and stiff cap of one of the two Combatants, which had fallen in the dirt, was taken up, properly cleansed, and again placed upon his head; and the two processions went each their own course, dividing as chance determined it. The whole ceremony was afterwards concluded with splendid entertainments which each of the Noble Disciplinants gave in their Houses, to the persons who had formed their respective processions; during which abundance of fine compliments were paid them on their piety, their gallantry, and their elegance in giving themselves discipline.

If such acts both of devotion and courtship are performed in Spain, by persons of the first rank, much more may we think that practices of the

ſame kind prevail among the vulgar: and on this occaſion I ſhall produce an extract from the Spaniſh Book intitled, the Life of Friar *Gerund de Campazas*. As this Novel, which is of a humorous kind, was written in later times by a native of the Country, and a Man of learning (a Father Jeſuit, I think) an extract from it may give a ſurer inſight into the above ſingular cuſtoms of the Spaniards, than any relation of Travellers perhaps can.

'Anthony was then ſtudying at Villagarcia, and 'already in the fourth claſs, as hath been ſaid, 'and in the twenty-fifth year of his age. The 'fortnight vacation for the Holy and Eaſter Week 'arrived, and he went home to his own town, as 'is the cuſtom for all thoſe ſtudents whoſe home 'is within a ſhort diſtance. The Devil, who ne'ver ſleeps, tempted him to play the penitent on 'Maunday Thurſday; for, as our young Peni'tent was now well ſhot up and his beard grown, 'he looked lovingly upon a Damſel that had been 'a neighbour of his, ever ſince they went to 'School together to the clerk of the Pariſh, to 'learn the horn-book; and in order to court her 'in the moſt winning manner, he thought it ex'pedient to go forth as a diſciplinant: as this, the 'Reader is to know, is one of the gallantries 'with which the Women of Campos are moſt 'pleaſed: for it is a very old obſervation there,

'that the greateſt part of the marriages are con-
'certed on the day of the croſs of the May, on
'the evenings on which there is dancing, and on
'*Maunday Thurſday:* ſome of the Women being
'ſo very devout and compunctious, that they are
'as much delighted with ſeeing the inſtruments of
'diſcipline applied, as with the rattling of the
'caſtanets.

'The rogue of an Anthony was not ignorant
'of this inclination of the girls of his Town, and
'therefore went out as diſciplinant, on Maunday
'Thurſday, as we have above ſaid. At a league's
'diſtance he might, notwithſtanding his maſk,
'and his hood which hung down almoſt to his
'waiſt, have been known by Catanla Rebollo,
'which was the name of his ſweetheart, neigh-
'bour, and old ſchool-fellow; for, beſides that
'there was no other cap in the whole proceſſion
'ſo ſpruce or ſo ſtiff-ſtanding as his, he wore as
'a mark, a black girdle which ſhe had given him,
'upon his taking leave of her on Luke's-day, to
'go to Villagarcia. She never took her eyes
'from him, during the time he was paſſing near
'her; and he, who knew it well, took that op-
'portunity to redouble the briſkneſs of his diſci-
'pline, making her, by the way, unobſerved by
'others, two little amorous obeiſances by nod-
'ding his cap: which is one of the tender paſſes
'that never fail to win the hearts of the marriage-

'able girls, who are very attentive to it; and the 'bumkin who knows how to do it with moſt 'grace, may pick and chooſe among them, 'though at the ſame time he may not be the moſt 'expert at the rural games and exerciſes.

'At length, as Anthony had made too much 'haſte to give himſelf a plentiful bleeding, one 'of the Majordomos who ſuperintended the pro-'ceſſion, bad him go home and take care of him-'ſelf, before the proceſſion was over. Catanla 'took herſelf after him, and being a neighbour, 'followed him into the houſe, where there ſtood 'ready the wine, roſemary, ſalt and tow, which 'is all the apparatus for theſe cures. They well 'waſhed his ſhoulders, and applied the pledgets; 'after which he put on his uſual clothes, and 'wrapped himſelf up in his grey cloak. They 'afterwards went to ſee the proceſſion, except Ca-'tanla, who ſaid ſhe would ſtay with him, and 'keep him company, &c.'

The diſciplining ceremonies above deſcribed, are, as hath been obſerved, alſo admitted in Italy; and they are performed there with no leſs regularity and applauſe, than in Spain. Moſt Travellers into that Country give ſome account of them: Doctor Middleton, for inſtance, deſcribes at ſome length in his Letter from Rome, two proceſſions of that kind, to and in the Church of St. Peter, of which he had been a witneſs.

But, as the ceremonies we ſpeak of, have been made in Spain, expeditions of gallantry, in which nicety of honour and amorous proweſs are diſplayed by turns, ſo in Italy, they have been turned into perfect farces, and ſcenes of mimickry.

Father Labat, who has publiſhed a relation of a Journey to Spain and Italy, in which he gives accounts of diſciplining proceſſions in both Countries, recites that in one of theſe proceſſions he ſaw at Civita Vecchia, there were in the firſt place to be ſeen at the head of that proceſſion ſeveral figures or perſons who repreſented Jeſus Chriſt in the different ſtages or acts of his condemnation; theſe different figures are commonly expreſſed by technical or cant Latin words; and among thoſe which Father Labat mentions as having made part of the above proceſſion, was an *Ecce Homo*, which is a figure intended to repreſent Jeſus Chriſt when he made his appearance before Pilate, clad in purple robe, with a reed in his hand, and a crown on his head.

Another perſonage afterwards made his appearance, who repreſented our Lord going to the place of his death: eight Executioners ſurrounded him, who teaſed him, and pulled the chains with which he was loaded; and a Simeon of Cyrene walked behind him, who aſſiſted him in carrying his croſs. Several Men followed, who were likewiſe loaded with heavy croſſes, and were meant, I ſup-

poſe, to repreſent the Robbers who ſuffered on that day. Among theſe different figures were abundance of Roman Soldiers, armed with caſques and bucklers.

After theſe came a number of perſons who, by their tears and groans, expreſſed the deep affliction they felt: and then the train of the Diſciplinants made their appearance, who manifeſted their grief in another manner, that is, by their flagellations. Among the latter were two particular figures who were thoroughly naked, except thoſe parts which muſt abſolutely be covered, for which purpoſe they wore a kind of ſhort apron. Theſe two figures, who were called the two *St. Jeroms*, on account of the blows with which they at times beat their breaſt, poſſeſſed a kind of ſkill not very unlike that exerted by Dominic the *Curraſſed*, who could diſcipline himſelf with both his hands at once: they performed both the *upper* and the *lower* diſcipline at the ſame time, and laſhed themſelves from head to foot, with large ſcourges they had provided for the occaſion. However, as the two latter perſonages exhibited rather a ſtriking appearance, they were, the enſuing year, ordered to do like the other Penitents, and to wear breeches.

In the ſame train we deſcribe, were alſo the family of Joſeph, with a number of female mourners, and among them Mary Magdalen, with the

Virgin Mary; and, laſtly, to crown the whole, there was in the proceſſion a figure fitted with a red-haired wig, and a red beard, who repreſented Judas, and held up with great triumph in his hand, a purſe, in which he ſhook and jingled a few pieces of money, which were ſuppoſed to be the reward he had received for betraying our Saviour.

In fine, what much increaſes our ſurpriſe concerning the flagellating ceremonies and proceſſions we deſcribe, is the great ſeverity and earneſt zeal with which thoſe who perform them, lay theſe diſciplines upon themſelves; different, in that, from the Prieſts of the Goddeſs of Syria mentioned in pag. 87, who, as the Emperor Commodus, and after him Philip Beroald, ſhrewdly ſuſpected, only performed ſham flagellations. The cruel ſeverities exerciſed upon themſelves by the modern Penitents, are facts about which all Writers of Relations agree; all mention the great quantity of blood which theſe Flagellants loſe, and throw to and fro with their diſciplines. It is commonly reported, I do not know with what truth, in the places where ſuch proceſſions uſe to be performed, that thoſe who have been accuſtomed for ſeveral years to diſcipline themſelves in them, cannot leave it off afterwards, without danger of ſome great diſorder, unleſs they get themſelves bled at that time of the year at which thoſe

ceremonies uſe to take place *. Madame D'Aunoy ſays that the firſt time ſhe ſaw one of theſe proceſſions, ſhe thought ſhe ſhould faint away; and ſhe concludes the account ſhe has given of the gallant flagellating excurſions that have been abovementioned, with ſaying that the Gentleman who has thus ſo handſomely trimmed himſelf, is often laid up in his room for ſeveral days afterwards, and ſo ſick that he cannot go to Maſs on Eaſter Sunday. All the above facts ſhew how much hardſhip, practice really may bring Men to bear: and the feats of the above Penitents are not, after all, much more ſurpriſing than the proweſs of the illuſtrious *Buckhorſe*, in this Country, who ſubmitted to receive boxes upon any part of his body, and as ſtoutly applied as people choſe to lay them on, for ſix-pence apiece: he only covered his ſtomach with his arms acroſs it; and the whole was meant as an advantageous exerciſe for thoſe who propoſed to improve themſelves in the art of boxing.

A remarkable inſtance of this power of *uſe*, to enable us to bear hardſhips, and even blows, occurs among the Chineſe. It appears, from the accounts of Travellers, that there are Men, in

* In a certain Spaniſh book, the name of which I do not remember, a Man is reproached with having beſmeared himſelf with ſheep's blood, in order to make people believe he had flagellated himſelf in a diſtinguiſhed manner.

China, who make it their trade, being properly feed for it, to receive baſtinadoes in the room of thoſe who are ſentenced to it by the Mandarine; in the ſame manner as there are Men about the Courts of Law, in this Country, ready to bail upon any occaſion. As the baſtinadoe is inflicted on the ſpot, while the Mandarine is diſpatching other buſineſs, the thing is to bribe the Officer who is to ſuperintend the operation: the real Culprit then ſlips out of the way; the Man who is to do duty for him comes forth, ſuffers himſelf to be tied down to the ground, and receives the baſtinadoe; which is laid on in ſuch earneſt, that a freſh Man, or Executioner, is employed after every ten or twelve ſtrokes.

However, there is perhaps ſomething in all this, ariſing from the peculiar conſtitution and frame of the body, beſides practice and reſolution. This diſpoſition to bear blows without being diſturbed, is greatly valued by Boxers, who ſet it almoſt upon a par with ſkill, agility, and real ſtrength. I hope the Reader will thank me if I inform him that this advantageous capability to receive blows without minding them, is technically called by Boxers, *a Bottom:* at leaſt as it ſeems from certain publications of thoſe days when the art of boxing was encouraged by the Public in a higher degree than it is at preſent.

The uſe that has been made of flagellations in public ſhows and proceſſions, the different Edicts of Princes for prohibiting or permitting ſuch ceremonies, the Bulls iſſued by different Popes to approve or condemn them, and the deciſions and regulations of a number of Men inveſted with the firſt dignities in the Church on the ſubject of voluntary diſcipline, are not the only circumſtances that prove the great importance of which theſe practices have gradually grown to be in the Chriſtian World: we ought not to omit to ſay that they have been the cauſe of much difference in opinion among the Learned; for ſomething eſſential would certainly be wanting to the glory of flagellations, had they not been the cauſe of diſſentions among Men, and if at leaſt Treatiſes *pro* and *con* had not been written on occaſion of them.

Some among the Learned have, it ſeems, blamed the pious exerciſes here alluded to, without reſtriction: ſuch were the Cardinal Stephen, and Peter Cerebroſus, who have been mentioned in a former place, as well as certain learned Eccleſiaſtics in Rome, againſt whom Cardinal Damian likewiſe wrote. Others have condemned the cruelty with which the ſame exerciſes were ſometimes performed: among them was Gerſon, whoſe arguments, together with thoſe of the Advocate-General Servin in his ſpeech againſt the Blue Pe-

nitents of Bourges, are recited at ſome length in the Abbé Boileau's ninth Chapter.

Debates have, moreover, taken place among the Learned, concerning the preciſe views with which diſciplines ought to be performed, as well as on the propereſt occaſions. And diſputes have in particular run high, concerning the degree of efficaciouſneſs of ſuch pious exerciſes: on which the Reader may remember what has lately been ſaid of the doctrines advanced by the Hereticks called *Flagellants*.

Differences in opinion have alſo prevailed with reſpect to the manner in which diſciplines are to be executed: ſome aſſerting that penitents ought to inflict them upon themſelves with their own hands; and others being equally poſitive that they ought to receive them from the hands of other perſons; this was one of the arguments of Gerſon.

In fine, debates have taken place concerning the propereſt ſituation for penitents to be in, when undergoing ſuch mortifications. Some have objected to the diſciplining perſons laying themſelves bare for that purpoſe, as being contrary to decency; while others, at the head of whom was Cardinal Damian, have ſtrenuouſly declared for a ſtate of unlimited nakedneſs. The following is one of the arguments of the Cardinal on the ſubject.

'Tell me, whoever you may be, who are actuated by ſo much pride as to deride the Paſſion of our Saviour, and who, refuſing to be ſtripped along with him, ridicule his nakedneſs, and call his ſufferings mere dreams or trifles, tell me, pray, what you prepare to do, when you ſhall ſee this heavenly Saviour, who was publicly ſtripped and faſtened to a croſs, clad with majeſty and glory, accompanied by an innumerable multitude of Angels, ſurrounded by incomparable and inexpreſſible ſplendours, and infinitely more glorious than all viſible and inviſible things? what will you do, I ſay, when you ſhall ſee him whoſe ignominy you pretend to deſpiſe, ſeated upon a Tribunal exalted and ſurrounded by fire, and judging all Mankind in a manner both equitable and terrible? Then will the Sun loſe its luſtre; the Moon will be involved in darkneſs; the Stars will fall from their places; the foundations of mountains will be ſhaken; only a few ſcarce gloomy rays will be ſent from the ſkies; the earth and air will be conſumed by impetuous fires, and all the elements confounded together: what, once more, will you do, when all theſe things ſhall happen? of what ſervice to you will theſe clothes and garments be, with which you now are covered, and which you refuſe to lay aſide, to ſubmit to the exerciſe of penitence? with what pre-

'ſumptuous audaciouſneſs do you hope to partake 'of the glory of Him whoſe ſhame and igno-'miny you now refuſe to ſhare?'——The above is certainly the beſt argument I have hitherto read in favour of nakedneſs; and it reconciles me to Cardinal Damian, whom I find to have been no bad Writer.

This neceſſity of nakedneſs to complete the merit of Penance, has been inſiſted upon by other Men of importance beſides him whom we have juſt ſpoken of; and without alledging any further authority on this ſubject, it will ſuffice to obſerve that the greateſt perſonages have ſubmitted to that part of Penitence we mention; ſeveral inſtances of which have been produced in a former Chapter.

Nay, the more complete was this privation of clothes, the more merit there was thought to be in it: hence we find that ſeveral Offenders have proportioned their freedom from habiliments, to the greatneſs of the ſenſe they entertained of their offences; and on this occaſion may be recited the penance performed by Fulk, ſurnamed *Griſegonnelle*, about the year 1000.

This Fulk, who was a very powerful Man in France, being the Son of the great *Seneſchal* of the Kingdom, had been a moſt bad and violent Man in thoſe times of feudal Anarchy, when force was almoſt the only law that exiſted, and

the Nobles and Lords were rather Heads of Robbers, than perſons inveſted with any preciſe dignity. Among other crimes the above Fulk had committed, he had killed with his own hand Conan, Duke of Britanny. He had performed three pilgrimages to the Holy Land; and on the laſt, meaning to render his penance complete and perfectly unexceptionable, he cauſed himſelf to be drawn naked upon a hurdle, with a halter round his neck, through the ſtreets of Jeruſalem; Men who had been directed ſo to do, laſhed him by turns, with ſcourges; and a perſon appointed for that purpoſe, cried at certain intervals, *Lord! have mercy on the traitor and forſwearer Fulk.* He lived very devoutly afterwards, and founded ſeveral Monaſteries. An account of this Fulk, and his penance, is to be found in Moreri's Dictionary.

Others have carried their notions on the preſent ſubject ſtill farther, and have thought that bare freedom from habiliments, had ſome ſanctity peculiar to it, and poſſeſſed, of itſelf, a great degree of merit. The Cynic Philoſophers in Greece, among whom Diogenes was particularly remarkable, frequently made, we find, their appearance in public, without even a ſingle rag to cover their nakedneſs; and the Indian Philoſophers called *Gymnoſophiſts*, conſtantly appeared in the ſame light

kind of dreſs, as we learn from their appellation itſelf, which ſignifies *naked Sages*.

Sages of the ſame kind ſtill continue to exiſt in the ſame quarters we ſpeak of; and we have likewiſe had, in our parts of the World, particular Sages or Sectaries, who have attributed no leſs merit to a ſtate of nakedneſs. Such were the *Adamites*, mentioned by St. Auſtin. Theſe Adamites, thinking they would effectually aſſimilate themſelves to our firſt Parents before their fall, if they appeared in the ſame habit, would put themſelves in a compleat ſtate of nature during certain ſolemnities of their own, and either ventured to make their appearance in the public ſtreets in that condition, or did the ſame, both Men and Women together, in private conventicles or houſes, which, if it was winter time, they took care to have well warmed beforehand.

About the year 1300, a Sect of the ſame kind, called the *Turlupins* (which word rather ſeems to have been a nickname, than a ſerious appellation of that ſect) made their appearance in France, again declaring themſelves, as well by their example as by their words, for freedom from accoutrements. To theſe the *Picards*, a century afterwards, ſucceeded in Germany, who carrying their opinion on the ſanctity of nakedneſs, and their abhorrence of ſuch unhallowed thing as clothing, farther than the Adamites had done, made

at all times their appearance in a perfect ſtate of nature. A certain party of Anabaptiſts, adopting the doctrine of theſe Picards, tried, on the thirteenth day of February in the year 1535, to make an excurſion in the ſtreets of *Amſterdam*, in the hallowed ſtate we mention; but the Magiſtracy, not taking the joke ſo well as they ought to have done, uſed theſe Adventurers in rather a ſevere manner.

In fine, to the inſtances of nakedneſs we have juſt recited, we ought not to omit to add that of Brother *Juniperus*, a Friar of the Franciſcan Order: and the merit of this Friar was the greater in that, different from the abovementioned partiſans of nakedneſs, he performed his own proceſſions alone, with great aſſurance and compoſure.

'Another time he entered the Town of Viterbo; and while he ſtood within the gate, he 'put his breeches on his head, and, his gown 'being tied round his neck in the ſhape of a load, 'he walked through the ſtreets of the Town, 'where he ſuffered many tricks from the inhabi-'tants; and ſtill in the ſame ſituation, he went to 'the Convent of the Brothers, who all exclaim-'ed againſt him; but he cared little for them, *ſo 'holy was this good little Brother* *.'

* *Aliâ vice intravit Viterbium, & dùm eſſet in portâ, fœmoralibus poſitis in capite, habitu in modum ſardeli ligato ad collum, ſic nudus ad plateas ivit civitatis, ubi multas verecun-*

This account of Brother Juniperus, is extracted from the Book called "Of the Conformities" (*De Conformitatibus*) or rather from that called the *Alcoran of the Cordeliers*, which is an extract from the former: for this Book of the *Conformities* exists, it is said, no longer; or at least only two or three Copies of it are to be come at, in certain Libraries, the name of which I have forgotten. The Book in question, which is well known from other old Books that mention it, was a compilation made by Franciscan Monks: the design of it, besides reciting pious Anecdotes relative to the Order, was to investigate the *conformities* between Jesus Christ, and their Founder St. Francis; and the advantage commonly was, in these comparisons, modestly given to the latter. After the period of the Reformation, the Monks of the Order we speak of, became somewhat ashamed of the performance, and have since succeeded in suppressing it, only two or three copies, as hath been above observed, being now left: a Protestant Minister, who procured sight of one of them, has, in this Century, done the Cordeliers or Franciscans the charitable service of giving an extract from the most remarkable Articles to the World, under the abovementioned title of the Alcoran of the Cordeliers.

dias perpessus est; & nudus ad locum fratrum ivit, omnibus contrà eum clamantibus, ipso tamen de iis parùm curante, tàm sanctus fuit iste fratricellus.

However, these stark-naked processions performed by the Cynic Philosophers, by the Adamites, the Turlupins, the Picards, and by Brother Juniperus, never met, we find, with any great and lasting countenance from the Public; and, as beatings without nakedness, that is mere bastinadoes, have generally been considered as being but dull and unmeritorious acts of penance, and accordingly never experienced any degree of encouragement, so, nakedness without beatings, has been but indifferently practised or relished. But when flagellations have been employed, then has the scene become cheered and enlivened; then have Penitents entertained sufficient consciousness of their merit, to continue their exercises with perseverance and regularity; then have numerous converts contributed to perpetuate the practice; then have the World thought the affair worth engaging their attention, and public shews, ceremonies, and solemnities, have been instituted.

Ceremonies of this kind have, however, been planned with different success, by which I mean with different degrees of ingenuity, among different Nations.

The flagellating Solemnities, for instance, that took place in Lacedæmon, are not in any degree intitled to our approbation; very far from it. The cruel advantage that was taken in them, of the silly pride of Boys, to prevail upon them to suffer

themſelves to be cut to pieces, rendered ſuch ceremonies a practice of really a brutiſh kind; and it is difficult to decide whether there was in them more inhumanity, or ſtupidity. The ſame is to be ſaid of the Solemnities of a ſimilar kind that were performed among the Thracians.

Leſs exceptionable than thoſe juſt mentioned certainly were the ceremonies exhibited by the Egyptians, and by the Syrian Prieſts of Bellona; ſince it is evident that no kind whatever of compulſion took place in them, in regard to any perſon.

The ſame obſervation is to be made in favour of the proceſſions of modern Flagellants, in which every one has the ſcourging of his own ſkin; and at the ſame time it muſt be owned that the gallantry and courtſhip paid to the fair Sex, which ſo eminently prevail in thoſe proceſſions, are circumſtances that greatly recommend them. On the other hand, the gloomy affectation of ſanctity which is mixed with the feſtivity and pageantry of thoſe diſciplining ſolemnities, gives the whole an air of hypocriſy, which is in ſome degree diſguſting; and the degree of real cruelty with which they are attended, cannot but compleat the averſion of ſuch perſons as uſe has not reconciled to the thought of them.

The feſtival of the Lupercalia that was performed in Rome, had indeed greatly the advantage of all the ceremonies of the kind that ever were in-

ſtituted. It really deſerved to have been contrived, or continued, by a People more polite and refined than the Romans, eſpecially in early times, are repreſented to us to have been.

Among other excellencies the Feſtival we ſpeak of poſſeſſed, it was performed but once a year, and only continued a few days: for, ceremonies of this kind ought to occur but ſeldom, and be only of ſhort duration: and it was like a ſhort time of *Saturnalia*, during which each Sex kindly exhibited to the ſight of the other thoſe perſonal charms and advantages which they wiſely kept hidden during the reſt of the whole year.

In the ſecond place, the real deſign of the whole tranſaction was pretty openly and candidly acknowledged: and if we except the few religious rites by which the ceremony was begun, which ſerved to give dignity to it, and the notion of the power of the ſlaps of the *Luperci* to render Women fruitful, which ſerved to give importance to the whole ſolemnity, it was agreed fairly enough on all ſides, that no more was meant than temporary paſtime and amuſement.

In the third place, no cruelty whatever took place in the performance of the Feſtival we ſpeak of, nor was it poſſible any ſhould; and from the lightneſs and the breadth of the ſtraps which the Luperci employed, we may judge of their tender anxiouſneſs not to do, through zeal or other cauſe,

any injury to the fair objects who made application to them.

When one of the three bands of Luperci (out of which every Man who wanted an excellent ſhape or elegant addreſs, was no doubt irremiſſibly blackballed) had been let looſe out of the Temple of the God Pan, and after the coming of a Lupercus into any particular ſtreet had been announced by the flouriſhes of the haut-boys, the clarinets, the trumpets, kettle-drums, and other muſical inſtruments that were ſtationed near the entrance of it (for we are abſolutely to ſuppoſe that muſic contributed to embelliſh ſo charming a feſtival) ſome one of the amiable perſons who propoſed to receive benefit from the Lupercus's ſervices, moved out of the croud, and threw herſelf into his way.

On ſight of her, the whole fierceneſs of the Lupercus became ſoftened. However kindled his ſpirits might have been by the religious rites by which the ceremony was begun, by the courſe he had juſt performed, and the ſight of the multitude of ſpectators who lined the ſtreets, whatever in ſhort might be that ſtate of fever in which Feſtus ſeems to repreſent him, the *februans* Lupercus, at the ſight of the lovely creature who obſtructed his paſſage, felt his agitation ſucceeded by ſenſations of the moſt benevolent ſort.

So far from entertaining designs of a severe or cruel nature, he scarcely possessed sufficient power to raise his arm, and perform with a faint hand the office that was expected from him. His bosom was filled with the softest passions. Intirely lost in the contemplation of the lovely object that made application to him, already did he begin to have thoughts of employing remedies of a more obvious and natural kind,—already, forgetting all Mankind, did he attempt to inclose her in his arms; when the acclamations of the spectators and the sudden explosion of the musical instruments, at once recalled him to himself; he flew from the amiable person who had thus so thoroughly engaged his attention, and hastened to other objects equally amiable, who likewise came to crave his assistance. If I was called upon to give my vote for any ceremony of the kind here mentioned, I would give it for the festival of the Lupercalia, especially with the improvements that had been made in it about the time of Pope Gelasius. (See p. 94.)

CHAP. XXIV.

The laſt Chapter, in which the Abbe Boileau is perſonally introduced: he is of opinion that the lower diſcipline is contrary to decency, and the upper diſcipline is liable to bring defluxions on the eyes *.

SEVERAL Divines, as we have ſeen, have united in blaming the cruel ſeverity with which certain perſons uſed to inflict diſ-

* In order to ſupport his opinion concerning the dangers of diſciplines, the Abbé Boileau has quoted Bartholinus's treatiſe *De medico flagrorum uſu*, and that wrote by John-Henry Meibomius, a Profeſſor at Lubeck, *De uſu flagrorum in re venereâ*. The ſingularity of theſe titles led me to look into both publications, in order to be able to give my opinion about them, and alſo in hope I might pick a few facts and quotations to entertain the Reader with: but I have been diſappointed; both Treatiſes being as dull unconnected farragos as ever were printed. From Meibomius's Trea-

ciplines upon themſelves, by which thoſe perſons aſſimilated themſelves to Idolaters and Pagans; beſides, it is well worth obſerving that, by this very ſeverity, thoſe zealous per-

tiſe, and alſo from Cœlius Rhodiginus's Book, the Abbé had however borrowed two ſtories, which I at firſt intended to inſert in this Chapter; but as I have found them, upon more attentive examination, to be related in no pleaſing nor even probable manner, beſides being very long, I have ſet them aſide, contrary to the deſign of this Work, as I have explained it in the *Introduction*, which was to make uſe of and introduce, in the Text, all the facts and quotations ſcattered in the Abbé's Book: I therefore make my apology to the Reader for the omiſſion.

To the other facts thus ſupplied by the Abbé's Work, I have in this Chapter, conformably to the promiſe made at p. 131, added the Abbé's own expreſſions and remarks, not only on account of their great ingenuity, but alſo in order that the preſent final Chapter might be a common concluſion of our reſpective taſks, and that the Abbé and me, joining hands again in it, might thus have an opportunity, as is the cuſtom at the end of Plays, to make our obeiſance together, and take a joint leave of the Public.

formers of disciplines in the issue obstruct their own piety, and defeat their own ends.

In fact, Physicians and Anatomists inform us, that such is the secret, or open, communication between all parts of the human body, that it is impossible to do any material and continual kind of injury to any, without the other parts being, sooner or later, affected by it: hence it follows that those persons who execute disciplines upon themselves with the great severity we mention, in process of time fall into serious distempers of some kind or other; so that they at length find themselves disabled from continuing those practices by which they intended to procure the improvement of their morals.

The next and the most tender parts are, in the cases we speak of, unavoidably affected by the consequence of the injury that is thus done to the other parts; and from harsh disciplines repeatedly performed upon the shoulders, at length arise, at the learned Bartholinus observes, disorders and defluxions on the eyes.

This inconvenience from the exercises we mention, much perplexed Father Gretzer, who, as hath been before observed, was a great friend to the practice of discipline; and in order to be thoroughly satisfied on that sub-

ject, he one day conſulted a Phyſician, a friend of his, who partly freed him from his fears, and partly confirmed them. This Phyſician made anſwer, that diſciplines executed on the ſhoulders, when performed with moderation, were perfectly harmleſs with reſpect to the eye-ſight; but then he abſolutely avoided giving any ſuch opinion in regard to thoſe which were performed in a harſh or cruel manner. The following is the oracle which the Phyſician in queſtion delivered.

'The vulgar opinion, that laſhes, applied 'to the back, are apt to hurt the eyes, is not 'well grounded. It is true that the great 'loſs of blood injures the brain, and conſe-'quently the eyes, which are called by ſome 'the *ſprouts* of it; and this it effects by the 'diminution it cauſes of the vital heat. But 'there does not ariſe from diſciplines, ſuch a 'great loſs of blood as that the brain may 'thereby ſuffer any conſiderable deperdition 'of its heat: on the contrary; ſince ſcarifica-'tions on the back are often employed with 'ſucceſs for the cure of diſorders in the eyes, 'why ſhould bad conſequences to them be 'feared from a few ſtripes? Thoſe therefore 'alone who are of a weakly habit of body 'the exerciſe in queſtion can hurt, but not 'perſons of a good conſtitution; and when 'diſciplines are ſo moderately inflicted as to

'cauſe no loſs of blood, and barely to affect 'the colour of the ſkin, no detriment cer-'tainly ought to be feared from them.' Such was the deciſion of this excellent Phyſician, and to it Father Gretzer adds that he willingly and readily ſubſcribes *.

All phyſicians, however, have not agreed with him whoſe authority we have juſt quoted. Some have delivered different opinions concerning the harmleſſneſs of diſcipline with reſpect to the eyes; and whether it was that the Capuchin Friars thought the advice of theſe latter of greateſt weight, or that they intended their zeal ſhould be unreſtrained by any apprehenſion, they have adopted the uſe of the lower diſcipline; and the generality of Nuns have done the ſame, from the like intention of ſecuring their eye ſight. Determined thereto by the advice of able Phyſicians and pious perſons, they have given up the method of flagellating themſelves on their ſhoulders, in order to belabour and flaſh their loins and poſteriors with knotted ſmall cords and hardened rods †.

* . . . . *ad cujus ſententiam, meam libens volenſque adjungo.*

† *Quippecum eâ de cauſâ Capucini, multæque Moniales, virorum Medicorum ac piorum hominum conſilio, aſceſim flagellandi ſurſum humeros reliquerint, ut ſibi nates lumboſque ſtrient aſperatis virgis, ac nodoſis funiculis conſcribillent.*

But while the perſons we ſpeak of have endeavoured to prevent dangers of one kind, they have incurred others which are ſtill worſe. By moſt of the antient Monaſtic Rules, religious perſons were forbidden to inſpect any part of their naked bodies, for fear of the wicked thoughts to which ſuch indulgence might give riſe: now, how is it poſſible for perſons who ſtrip intirely naked, in order to take diſcipline, to help, however great their piety may be, having a ſight of thoſe parts of themſelves which they have been directed never to look on? How can Nuns avoid, in thoſe inſtants, having at leaſt a glance of thoſe excellent beauties * which they are forbidden to

* *Ho, ho, Monſieur l'Abbé!* How come you to be ſo well acquainted with beauties of the kind you mention here, and to ſpeak of them in ſo poſitive a manner? For, the Reader muſt not think I here lend any expreſſions to the Abbé which are not his own: *Num probroſum* (ſays he), *ſoli oſtendere lumbos & femora juvenilia, excellenti formâ, quamvis religionis honeſtate conſecrata?* This *Monſieur l'Abbé*, for his excurſion upon objects and beauties which, one ſhould have thought, lie out of his province, richly deſerves a lecture of the ſame kind with that which Parſon Adams received from Lady Booby, when he ventured to expatiate,

ſurvey, and which they thus imprudently expoſe to the light of the Sun? By ſubſtituting one kind of diſcipline to the other, religious perſons have, I am afraid, only laid themſelves open, as hath been above obſerved, to dangers of a ſtill worſe nature than thoſe they meant to avoid, and have perhaps only fallen from Charybdis into Scylla †.

in her Ladyſhip's preſence, on the beauties of Fanny.

† Theſe dangers ariſing from ſelf-examination I do not allow myſelf to call in queſtion; ſince, beſides the Abbé Boileau, the Framers of Monaſtic Rules have taken notice of them; and indeed I find Brantome has entertained thoughts of the ſame kind; and many facts are to be found in that Chapter of his which he has intitled *Of Sight in Love*, that fully confirm the above obſervations. But beſides theſe ſerious dangers into which a too curious examination of one's-ſelf may lead, there are others very well worth mentioning: I mean to ſpeak of the acts of pride, vanity, ſelf-admiration and complacency, to which the above curioſity may give riſe. Vanity and a diſpoſition to admire one's-ſelf, are diſpoſitions that are but too general among Mankind; and there is hardly a time in life at which we may be ſaid to be perfectly cured of ſuch worldly affections. On this oc-

Neither, if ſuch diſciplines cannot be performed in ſecret without danger, is it very pru-

caſion I ſhall produce the following anecdote, which is related by Brantome.

A certain Lady, who had been very handſome, and now was ſomewhat advanced in years, would no longer look at her face in the looking-glaſs, for fear of diſcovering ſome new injury time might have done to it; but ſhe uſed to ſurvey the other parts of her body, and then, ſuddenly actuated by the worldly vanity we ſpeak of, ſhe exclaimed, "God be thanked, here I do not grow old" *(je ne vieillis point.)*

Theſe dangers of a too curious examination of one's own perſon, are extremely well expreſſed by Ovid, in that part of his Metamorphoſis where he deſcribes Narciſſus ſitting near that clear ſilver fountain in which he contemplated himſelf:

Fons erat illimis, nitidis argenteus undis.

And the Poet relates, in a very lively manner, the aſtoniſhment of the Youth, at the ſight of, as he thought, his own charms and perfections.

. . . . *viſæ correptus imagine formæ*
Adſtupet ipſe ſibi.

That unexperienced Nuns ſhould be led, by their diſciplines, into faults of a ſimilar kind, are therefore very natural apprehenſions. Being thoroughly engaged in the contemplation of thoſe beauties which they expoſe to light, it is no won-

dent to execute them in the preſence of witneſſes. Tertullian obſerves, that 'Nature has 'made either fear or ſhame, the attendants of 'every evil action.' Now, if we judge from this rule, we ſhall become convinced of the truth of the obſervations we are making here. In fact, what Man or Woman could, without fear or ſhame, execute a lower diſcipline in company with other perſons? who could without reluctance firk their loins and poſteriors with rods, on an exalted place, and in the middle of a numerous Aſſembly of People? who could thus undauntedly expoſe their nakedneſs to the rays of the Sun, and to the eyes of a multitude of Spectators *?

---

der that all their thoughts of a religious kind ſhould vaniſh: and they even may very well in the iſſue, inchanted as they are by what they are beholding, intirely forget and neglect thoſe pious exerciſes which they have purpoſely retired to their cell to perform.

* *Quid turpius excogitari poteſt, ſivè viro ſivè fœminæ, quàm, lumbis & femoribus ad radios Solis apertis, ſeipſum diverberare? . . . . Quis in edito & aperto loco, plenis comitiis, in conſpectu hominum, lumbos nateſque virgis cædere non pertimeſcat?*

This exhibition of nakedneſs to the rays of the Sun, the Poet Lafontaine obſerves, is only fit for the New World. He expreſſes this opinion in that Tale which has been above quoted, *The Pair*

of Spectacles, when he attempts to expreſs the objects which the Nuns exhibited to the ſight of each other, and of the Abbeſs: "Niggardly and "proud charms, which the Sun is allowed to ſee "only in the New World, for this does not ſhew "them to him."

——— *chiches & fiers appas*
Que le Soleil ne voit qu'au nouveau monde,
Car celui-ci ne les lui montre pas.

However, notwithſtanding the opinion of the Poet La Fontaine, it ſeems that an exhibition of charms and attractions, even ſuperior to what takes place in the New World, is common in Ruſſia; which is certainly a part of our Old World: the Reader may ſee in the accounts given by Travellers, that individuals of both Sexes, after ſome ſtay in the hot-baths and ſtoves in uſe in that Country, will ruſh out promiſcuouſly together, ſtark-naked, playing, and delightfully rolling themſelves in the ſnow. If Ruſſia had been more viſited by Travellers in the times of Cardinals Damian and Pullus, theſe two great Promoters of nakedneſs would have been ſupplied with facts much to the advantage of their doctrine.

Bartholinus too, from the accounts of the ſame Travellers would have been ſupplied with excellent materials for compoſing his abovementioned Treatiſe, *On the phyſical uſe of Flagellations*. The Abbé Dauteroche, one of the lateſt Travellers who have publiſhed an account of Ruſſia, where he went to obſerve the tranſit of Venus, gives a

ſomewhat accurate deſcription of the baths and ſtoves we mention. The heat is commonly carried in them to ſo high a degree as the fiftieth of Reaumur's ſcale (which anſwer to the 130th of Fahrenheit's; the greateſt ſummer heat in England ſeldom ſurpaſſes, or even reaches, 80) a ſuffocating ſteam is raiſed by throwing plenty of water upon ſtones kept conſtantly red hot; and, in order to carry the agitation of the blood ſtill farther, flagellations are applied to: a bundle of birchen twigs, with the leaves on, which being dry are ſoon ſtripped off, is as conſtant a part of the bathing implements and furniture, as a handkerchief or a towel. All theſe different operations being fulfilled, the bathers, as is above ſaid, ruſh out into the external air, ſometimes ten, or even twenty degrees colder than it was in this Country in the year 1740, and roll themſelves in the ſnow, or jump into water through holes made in the ice. Theſe are certainly ſurpriſing inſtances of what the human body may be brought to bear; much more remarkable than thoſe that have been before mentioned; and the boxes of Buckhorſe, the Chineſe baſtinadoes, and the flagellations of the Italian and Spaniſh diſciplinants, are nothing in compariſon to it. But, for a farther account of the Ruſſian ſtoves, and of the trial the Abbé Dauteroche had the curioſity to make of them, as well as of the unexpected and unwelcome entertainment he received, I muſt refer the Reader to the Work itſelf he has publiſhed.

FINIS.

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